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# NOTES

ON THE

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA

DURING

A PHRENOLOGICAL VISIT

IN 1838-9-40.

BY

GEORGE COMBE.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:

CAREY & HART.

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1841.

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## PREFACE.

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THE circumstances under which this work was composed, and the objects aimed at by the author, are explained in the Introduction. Although written as a journal, only a small portion of it is devoted to personal adventures, or to those topics which usually constitute the substance of a work bearing that form. I cannot, however, allow this opportunity to pass, without expressing my gratitude towards those kind and excellent friends whose society and attentions rendered our residence in the United States at once instructive and agreeable. My acknowledgments are due in a special manner to Dr. JOHN BELL of Philadelphia, and Dr. ANDREW BOARDMAN of New York, for much kind and valuable assistance; while to Mr. CHARLES HUMBERSTON of Liverpool, and Mr. GEORGE HART of New York, I am indebted for benefits which those can best appreciate who have experienced the impediments to communication between foreign nations, unavoidably presented by Custom-House regulations. During our whole residence in America, the unwearied attention and punctuality of these two gentlemen conferred on us favors which we cannot return, but which it gives us pleasure thus publicly to acknowledge.

EDINBURGH, *March 1, 1841.*



## INTRODUCTION.

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A FEW observations are necessary to inform the reader of the circumstances under which the following work has been prepared, and of the objects aimed at by the author.

In 1832 Dr. Spurzheim proceeded to the United States of America, with the view of diffusing a knowledge of Phrenology by public lectures. He had not completed his first course in Boston, when he was taken ill; and he died on the 10th November in the same year. Brief as was the space during which he was permitted to labor, his expositions of this science had excited great and extensive interest, not in Boston only, but in many other parts of the Union. After his death, numerous invitations were sent to me by the friends of Phrenology to repair to the United States, and to follow up the work which he had so successfully begun. For several years this was not in my power; but at last, in 1838, circumstances permitted me to obey the call, and I sailed for New York in September, and commenced a course of lectures in Boston in October, of that year. I continued in the United States till 1st June 1840; and during the whole period was incessantly engaged—in the winter and spring, in lecturing on Phrenology in the cities; and in summer—in preparing a work on Moral Philosophy for the American press, and in making excursions into the interior of the country for necessary recreation. These occupations were not favorable for a minute study of the social and political institutions of America and its society; nor, in going to that country, had I any intention of writing a work in relation to them. From my first arrival, however, I kept a note-book, in which I entered, from day to day, such observations as were suggested by the objects and circumstances around me. At first, the novelty of

aspect under which even commonplace objects occasionally presented themselves, imparted to many of them an interest which they did not intrinsically possess. But as, at that time, my journal was written solely for private use, I felt no scruple in recording on its pages many observations and impressions which would never have found a place in it, had it been composed originally with a view to publication. In proportion, however, as the country and its affairs were displayed to me in more familiar intercourse, higher objects excited attention, and many passing events, institutions, and social arrangements, suggested reflections which, judging from my own experience, seemed calculated to interest the British public. It was thus only at a late period that the idea of publishing my observations presented itself, and that the considerations to be afterwards mentioned, gradually led to its being realised.

Such being the origin of the present work, it will not surprise any reflecting reader to find, especially in the beginning, many notices of comparatively trivial objects and occurrences, to which novelty had lent an exaggerated importance. But, although fully sensible of the existence of these and other imperfections in the materials of the work (a discovery which presented itself most forcibly after the book was printed, and when time and distance from the scene of observation had blunted many impressions), there are reasons which have induced me to hazard its publication. Some of these are the following:—

First, I regard it as impossible for any individual accurately to describe a great nation. The objects and interests are so vast compared with the capacity of one mind, that a whole life would not suffice to attain to truth in all points of detail and to logical soundness in all inferences. A certain extent of error, therefore, is unavoidable on the part of all observers who attempt to delineate so extensive a field. The only method by which philosophic minds can arrive at truth in regard to national character and institutions, is to analyse and compare the reports of numerous observers; each individual author being regarded as a single witness in a vast and complicated cause. The value of the testimony of each will

depend more on the purity of his motives, and the sincerity of his narrative, than upon an abstract freedom from mistake, which is not to be expected from even the most gifted and accomplished men.

I regard the works of all the authors who have written on the United States as valuable in this view; and their value is increased by the difference in the minds, circumstances, and education of the individuals who produced them. Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. Butler, and Miss Martineau, for example, each possessed a peculiar combination of faculties, moved in a different sphere, and were interested by different objects. When, therefore, they gave to the public the impressions which the United States had made on their mind, their works were not without interest, although they might contain errors, and embody false inferences. Each was a faithful witness to her own impressions, and a philosophic reader could draw instruction from them all. In like manner, Stuart, Hall, Hamilton, and Marryat, without, in all instances, relating absolute truth, or the whole truth, may each have evolved some portion of fact and of just inference, by means of which the public may be instructed. It is simply in the character of another witness in the great investigation that I present these notes. And there are some circumstances, besides those already stated, which, on reflection, have appeared to my own mind to justify this step.

My pursuits and studies, previously to my visit to the United States, had been widely different from those of all the authors, except perhaps Mr. Stuart, who had written recently on the subject, and my circle of interests during my stay was also different. Captain Marryat, for example, the latest writer, mentions the American habit of drinking and forming social acquaintances at the bars of the American hotels and taverns—and says—“I was always willing to accommodate the Americans in this particular as far as I could, (there, at least, they will do me justice); that at times I drank much more than I wished is certain, yet still I gave most serious offence, especially in the west, because I would not drink early in the morning or before dinner, which is a general custom in the states, although much more prevalent in the south and west, where it is literally, ‘Stranger, will you drink or fight?’ ” This spirit

of accommodation must have opened up to Captain Marryat a large field of observation, and enabled him successfully to describe one portion of American life and manners. But during my whole residence in the States, I never drank, and never was even once asked to drink, at the bar of any hotel. This is only one among many circumstances which indicate that my sphere of observation may have been widely different from his. I may, therefore, be viewed as a witness, testifying to some points different from those reported on by him.

The necessity for the labors of numerous observers to elucidate so vast a subject will be readily recognised, when we consider a few of the difficulties that obstruct the path of each in his search after truth.

In America, as in other countries, the vast majority even of educated and intelligent people, are conversant chiefly with their own localities and circles, and entertain some ideas regarding other places and interests which an intelligent stranger soon perceives to be erroneous. Persons are to be found in Boston, for example, who express not only imperfect, but occasionally prejudiced and erroneous views of the people and condition of many things in Philadelphia, and *vice versa*; just as many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh and Glasgow, who, although living only forty-two miles apart, and under the same laws and institutions, are by no means (speaking even of the enlightened class) well acquainted with each other's mental characteristics and social habits. An intelligent American, a stranger to both, who should live three months in each of these Scottish cities, would therefore be, in some respects, better qualified to present a picture of their minds, manners, and state of civilisation, than nineteen out of twenty of the inhabitants of either city themselves, even although he should fall into some mistakes which a resident native would have avoided. His views would probably differ from those entertained of themselves and of each other, by the mass of the inhabitants of both towns; but they might nevertheless contain much truth, which might have escaped their own notice. Even such observations, however, must also be imperfect; for the stranger represents only an individual mind, with natural aptitudes, biases, and deficiencies of his own; and



all that he can legitimately achieve is to give a candid statement of the impressions made on his own faculties by the objects to which they were directed.

I could furnish many striking illustrations of the sources of error to which such an observer is exposed. A few years ago, when travelling in Somersetshire, I saw four horses, attended by two men, drawing a light plough in a light soil. "What a waste of labor is here," said I to an intelligent farmer; "in Scotland two horses and one man would accomplish this work." "We rear and train young horses for the London market," said he; "two of the four which you see are serving an apprenticeship to labor. They bring a higher price when well broken." Nothing could be more reasonable than this explanation; yet if the facts had been reported as I saw them, they would have been true, though the inference would have been erroneous. Again, upwards of twenty years ago, I accompanied a member of the bar of Paris, a philosopher and a man of letters, in a visit to the Highlands of Scotland. At Callendar, a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, attended us as guide to some interesting spot, and in external appearance he seemed to be in every respect one of the common lads of the village. He boasted of neither shoes nor stockings, wore a short kilt, a waistcoat and corduroy jacket, and had a common blue bonnet on his head. My Parisian friend entered into conversation with him; asked him if he had been at school, and soon discovered that, to a tolerable acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, he added a pretty extensive knowledge of arithmetic and geography, and was then engaged in the study also of mathematics. My friend conceived that the boy was an average specimen of the peasantry of the country, and greatly admired the educational attainments of the Scotch people, which he had previously heard highly extolled. Being aware of the extravagant exaggeration of common report concerning the education of my countrymen, on our return to the village I made inquiry, and ascertained that the boy was the natural son of an English officer who had resided in the neighborhood, and who, while he ordered him to be reared in the hardy habits of the Scottish Highlanders, had provided ample funds for his mental education. Of course, I corrected the

impressions of the Parisian barrister; who, but for this explanation, might have reported correctly the facts which he had observed, but drawn most erroneous deductions from them. Although when writing my notes on the United States, I had constantly before my eyes these and other sources of error; yet it is not improbable that these pages may embody not a few mistakes of a similar nature.

The reader may be prepared to ask, Why, then, do I publish them? My answer is this. These, or other sources of error, beset not only foreign, but even native travellers; and the only alternative presented is, between descriptions and conclusions embracing truth and error mixed in greater or lesser proportions, or no descriptions and inferences at all. I hope that, notwithstanding these imperfections, the following notes embody so large a portion of correct observations and sound deductions as to give some value to the work. Its merits will depend on the extent to which the true predominate over the erroneous. In the United States the difficulties of attaining to truth in delineating the incidents of travel, are increased by the feelings which the remarks of British authors have excited in some circles of society. Their pictures of American manners have been resented, and this resentment has shown itself on the part of individuals in attempts to mystify and mislead British travellers who are suspected of the intention of writing a book on the United States. In Boston I was told, that a certain person boasts of having given Miss Martineau erroneous information for the purpose of leading her into mistakes: and another in Philadelphia assures his friends, that he "crammed" Captain Marryat with old "Joe Millers," that is to say, jokes and fictions which the Captain embodied into his books as facts illustrative of American manners. I am not aware of having been practised upon with similar intentions; but this may have happened unconsciously to myself; as it is said to have done in the case of my predecessors; and in this way I may unsuspectingly have been led to record error. But again, my apology is, that each writer is a single witness; that the truth will be evolved by multiplying their number; and that those features of American character respecting which all or most of the descriptions concur, may be viewed as correctly drawn;

while those about which extensive differences exist, must be regarded as requiring farther elucidation.

I am sensible of the deficiency of system or connection in the work, and of its embracing topics that to many readers will present no interest. My apology for these imperfections is, that the pressing nature of my proper occupations deprived me of leisure either to acquire or to digest systematic views while I was in the country, and that after my return, although I had provided myself with books and printed documents containing a large extent of general information, I experienced an impossibility in applying them. In a systematic work, one important error may vitiate the whole superstructure; and I found that, in the absence of all the persons, objects, and institutions, by reference to which my inferences from these materials might be checked and corrected, I could not feel secure in my premises. The only alternatives presented to me, therefore, were to publish my notes, imperfect as they might be, or to publish nothing.

In farther apology for the apparently trifling nature of some of the incidents recorded, I may observe that the American Democracy is a phenomenon which has scarcely had a parallel in the world. It is, therefore, full of interest in all its features. From the vast political and social power wielded even by the meanest of the people, from their being, not in name only but in fact, the sovereigns of the nation, their manners, habits, opinions, and social condition are far more interesting than those of the same classes in a European kingdom. If Mrs. Trollope, or any other traveller, has described the puerile love of titles, the ungainly habits, or the peculiar manner of some American citizens; or if, in the following pages, I have introduced the gossip of wayfaring people, or anecdotes of the obscurest of men, they really do not appear trivial to my mind; because, to these very people the most profound and enlightened statesmen, the most learned lawyers, and the most accomplished divines, must address themselves; they must guide their understanding, and direct their passions, or allow their country to be ruined. In the election which took place in Massachusetts in November 1839, Mr. Edward Everett, a man of great talents and accomplishments, was ejected from office as governor of

the state by a majority of one vote. The man who gave that vote may have been the most odd or illiterate person described in the following pages; and the knowledge that such individuals are invested with influence on the destinies of their country, gives to every feature of their character a deep interest. If they are vain, the politician leads them by their vanity; if they are absorbed in the pursuit of gain, he presents to them a golden bait; if they are self-confident and half-informed, he leads them by encomiums and plausibilities; and hence their faults, foibles, and imperfections, as well as their virtues and attainments, become efficient causes of bad or good government, and constitute fundamental elements in speculating on the future destinies of the nation. Innumerable remarks, therefore, which to my readers on both sides of the Atlantic, who do not take this view, may appear puerile, are in my eyes invested with a philosophical importance; and I do not believe that a correct view of the practical effect of the American institutions can be presented without introducing these apparently trifling elucidations. I have endeavored to appreciate these details, according to their real importance, and to seize the principles upon which their interest depends; but these, without the substratum of facts, although evolved occasionally in trivial and ludicrous anecdotes, would, in my opinion be abstractions little instructive to any reader.

A portion of the "notes" consists of notices of remarks which were made to me by various persons, or of information drawn from individuals by direct inquiries. The value of these remarks must necessarily depend on the knowledge, judgment, and honesty of the persons from whom they were derived, as well as upon the accuracy with which they have been reported. I found no cause of inquiry so instructive in the United States as conversations with persons of different professions, such as proprietors of land, merchants, lawyers, bankers, ministers of the Gospel, teachers, doctors in medicine, and men of science, as well as common working men; and by no other means could I give such a correct and vivid picture of the American mind as by reporting these, only suppressing names, places, and dates, so that there should be no key to the discovery of the individuals, so to implicate

them in any possible error; and I have pursued this course. The conversations introduced are generally transposed in time and place, in order to avoid personal reference. It may reasonably be remarked, that, without the names, no one can know whether the individuals were the representatives of classes, or isolated persons uttering merely their own impressions. In reply, I observe, that the interest of these conversations consists in the thoughts which they embody, and that this is altogether independent of the individuals. I endeavored to practise discrimination in judging what remarks I should record. On the inherent weight of the ideas, and on this discretion their value rests. It would have been easy to give forth as my own, numerous remarks and suggestions which I derived from such sources; but this would not have rendered them more worthy of acceptance, while it would have implied that I pretended to possess an extent of information and depth of sagacity to which I had no legitimate claim.

In the course of my progress in the United States, I saw many things in a more advanced condition than similar objects were in my own country, and, therefore, concluded that a notice of them would be both useful and interesting. The common school system, for example, the houses of refuge, the prisons, the lunatic asylums, and the voluntary church system, are objects that in Britain are engaging a large portion of general or local attention. It was not in my power to write systematic treatises on these subjects, but, by collecting and publishing such cursory remarks as were within my reach, I hoped to convey some useful information that might benefit the laborers in the same enterprises at home. To my American readers nothing may appear more jejune than quotations from their own common school journals, acts establishing houses of refuge, or slight notices of their asylums and prisons; yet, on submitting these to persons of intelligence in Scotland before publishing them, I am assured that they are calculated to be useful in my own country.

Again, the Americans will probably be struck with the frequent notices of sermons introduced into the work; but the object of alluding to these was not trivial. An intense interest exists in Britain, and especially in Scotland,

on the subject of a voluntary or an endowed church, and the most contradictory reports of the operation of the voluntary system in the United States have been published by British authors; and consequently, at the present time, no element of information concerning the United States is calculated to excite more general interest than one regarding the state of religion in that country. It would have been easy for me, and might have appeared more philosophical, to have delivered a sententious opinion on this subject without any details; but believing that most thinking persons prefer an induction of their own to the dictum of their neighbor, it occurred to me to keep notes of some of the churches I attended, and to mention briefly the nature of the service and the sermon, the appearance of the church and congregation, and at the end only to state my inferences. This method presents to my countrymen, whom alone I considered in this proceeding, a view of my own *causæ scientiæ*, and gives them also the means of appreciating the value of the elements on which my judgment is founded. Thus the entry which so frequently occurs, "Heard an orthodox discourse," in such or such a church, becomes interesting to the orthodox in Scotland, in proportion to the number of times in which it is repeated, as an increasing testimony to the extent of orthodox preaching in the United States; and so of other sects.

Some persons may probably be offended at the frequency and freedom with which religious opinions are introduced and commented on. My apology is, that I was struck with the far greater frequency with which questions on religious topics were put to me when lecturing in the United States than when lecturing in Britain. This was an important feature in the mental condition of the people; and by making such notes of these questions as I was able to write down, I considered that I was preserving evidence of this important fact itself, even allowing many errors on my part to have been unintentionally committed in representing the views and motives of the parties who put them. My situation as a lecturer on the philosophy of mind exposed me to such questions, and I regarded them as among the most interesting incidents of my experience. In this way I have occasionally made

remarks on the spirit displayed by different sects; these are open to the approval or condemnation of every reader according to his own judgment; but if the religion of a country be an important element in its civilisation, there can be no impropriety in freely introducing such remarks on its peculiarities as these naturally suggested.

Again, my frequent and slight notices of banks and stocks may appear to many persons unnecessary, unsatisfactory, or unphilosophical. On this point, I would observe, that a strong tendency exists at present in Britain towards multiplying banks; and the popular illustrations given in the following pages of some of the evils attending excessive issues of paper money, may instruct many whom a scientific work would never reach. Farther, a considerable number of my own countrymen are interested in American stocks, having invested, or proposing to invest property in them. Although many of them are ignorant of much which they would be benefitted by knowing regarding their character, yet few probably will study the excellent work of Mr. Alexander Trotter\* on the subject, on account of its length and strictly business-like character. Nevertheless, they may peruse with interest the cursory notices which occur in these pages, and may be thereby induced to make more extensive and satisfactory inquiries for their own safety.

To some readers, also, the frequent repetition of dates, and of the state of the thermometer, may appear unmeaning pedantry; but when I contemplated proceeding to the United States, no subject was more interesting to me than to ascertain facts concerning the temperature; for on them depended not only the provision which we should make in regard to clothing, but also against the peculiarities of the climate. In scientific works, tables of the thermometer in certain localities might be found; but I could not discover the precise temperature in the streets in towns; that temperature, in short, which would affect our feelings and health most directly. I therefore noted the temperature of the external air in the shade between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning, in the various hotels and

\* "Observations on the financial position and credit of such of the States of the North American Union as have contracted public debts." Longman & Co., 1839.

other residences which we occupied. These may not correspond with the scientific reports of the same districts, in open and exposed situations, but they will supply to future visitors, information which it would have benefitted us considerably to have attained, before our departure for the American continent.

To many of my readers the introduction of Phrenology in so many forms and places may appear tedious and un-instructive; but Phrenology was the great object of my visit and my occupation while in the United States. It gave origin to the work itself; and to have passed it over in silence, would have been like acting the tragedy of Hamlet, omitting the character of that name. I proceeded thither with the impression that this science would contribute powerfully to the advancement of civilisation in that country; and I returned, not only with the impression converted into conviction, but further persuaded, that in the United States, probably earlier than in any other country, will Phrenology be applied to practical and important purposes. To save my readers on both sides of the ocean, however, from unnecessary alarm on this head I may here mention, that I do not consider that the generation is yet born which is destined to carry this science into practical effect in public affairs; but I entertain the conviction that, within a century from this time, Phrenology will be so applied in the United States. This idea is participated in by those who, from their acquaintance with Phrenology and experience of mankind, are best qualified to judge, and for them this portion of the work is composed.

I may remark, that the Americans in reading a work on the United States written by a foreigner, judge of it, almost uniformly, as a book composed not only *about*, but exclusively *for* themselves. If it contain statements and descriptions which lie on the surface of their country and social habits, they regard it as twaddle and gossip; but this book is written for the readers of the English language on this side of the Atlantic; and the Americans, with all deference to their superior knowledge of their own affairs, are not better judges than we are, concerning what will interest our own people. I have read the tours of Americans in Great Britain, and in proportion to the



faithfulness of their representations, did they appear to me to be trite and commonplace; but this was an unfair criterion of their merits. This very fidelity, which deprived them of interest to a Briton, invested them with it to the American who had never visited the British shores. May I not hope that the candid among my American readers will allow me the benefit of the same rule of judging?

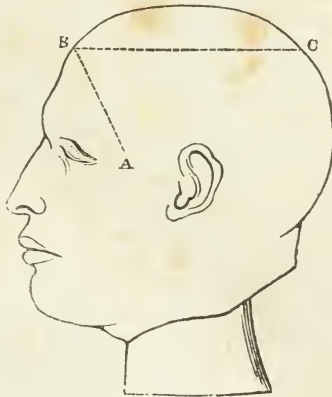
I beg leave to add, that in the end of the Second Volume I have given, under the head of "American Civilisation," and in an "Address to the American people," a summing up of my observations and reflections on their country and institutions, in which I have endeavored to explain also the manner in which Phrenology may, in my humble opinion, conduce to their improvement. There, some of the previously apparently incongruous details will be found brought into a focus, and such deductions made from them as have presented themselves to my own understanding. I have added also an index, by consulting which, the reader may, to some extent, give continuity to his perusal of my remarks on particular topics which may interest him. It will enable him for instance to trace the "License-Law" in Massachusetts continuously, from its enactment to its repeal, and it constituted one of the most interesting moral topics that attracted my attention in the Union; and so with other subjects.

I have introduced into the Appendix the resolutions passed by the various audiences who did me the honor to attend my lectures on Phrenology, and also tables showing the numbers present at each lecture. Some readers may be disposed to charge me with egotism in presenting the former, and with unnecessary minuteness in giving the latter; but several apologies may be offered for the course adopted. The resolutions were intended to be complimentary; and to have suppressed them, must have appeared ungracious towards many persons for whom I entertain lively feelings of gratitude and respect; besides, this work may be perused by individuals who, in ignorance of the nature and objects of Phrenology, entertain prejudices against it, and these resolutions may serve to soften their prepossessions, and induce them to inquire into its merits. Finally, the statistics of attendance show

the interest taken in the subject in different cities of the Union, and also in particular topics of the lectures. They will serve also to correct exaggerated reports which were frequently circulated by the press respecting the numbers of the classes.

As Phrenology is frequently used in these volumes in the analysis of mental character, an outline of the faculties, specifying briefly their uses and abuses, is calculated to be useful; and as reference is also occasionally made to injuries of particular cerebral organs, and to the proportions of the different parts of the brain in different individuals, the subjoined figures of the head will enable the reader to follow these observations.

Fig. I.



The first figure shows the three great Phrenological divisions of the brain. The line B runs through the centre of ossification of the parietal bone (the organ of Cautiousness No. 12 of the marked figure), and terminates in the centre of ossification of the frontal bone situated at the point where it touches the line AA (the organ of Causality, No. 35 in the figure). The portion above the line B is named the coronal region, and serves to manifest chiefly the moral sentiments.

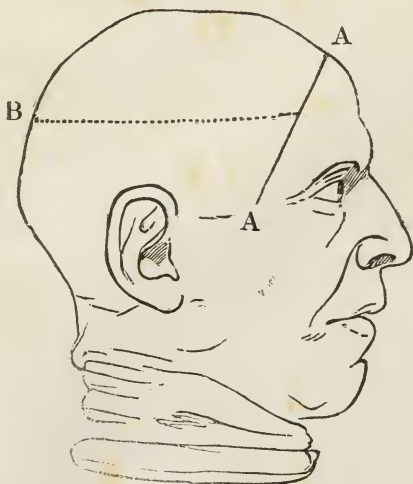
The line A corresponds to the posterior lateral edge of the super-orbital plate, on which the anterior lobe of the brain rests. The space before the line AA indicates the

size of the anterior lobe, the region devoted to the manifestation of the intellectual faculties. If the space before the lower A be long, the organs of the observing faculties are large; and if the space forward from the point where the line B meets the line AA be long, the reflecting organs are large.

The space below B, and behind AA, manifests the propensities common to man with the lower animals.

In the first figure the coronal region is small, indicating deficient moral sentiments; the anterior lobe is moderate in size, indicating average intellect, and the animal region is very large, indicating great vigor in the inferior propensities. It is a drawing from the head of William Hare, who assisted the notorious Burke in committing sixteen murders for the sake of supplying a dissecting-room in Edinburgh with dead bodies.

Fig. II.



In the second figure the coronal region is large, indicating powerful moral sentiments; the intellectual region is about an average; while the region of the propensities is moderate. It represents the head of the Rev. Mr. Martin, long a highly amiable and respectable dissenting cler-

gyman in London, and it forms as striking a contrast to that of Hare as the dispositions of the individuals did in their lives.

These are mere general remarks intended for the popular reader; but farther elucidations will be found in the common works on Phrenology.

The faculties generally recognised by Phrenologists are the following:—The organs are double, each faculty having two lying in corresponding situations of the hemispheres of the brain.

## ORDER I. FEELINGS.

### GENUS I. PROPENSITIES.—*Common to Man with the Lower Animals.*

#### THE LOVE OF LIFE.

APPETITE FOR FOOD.—*Uses:* Nutrition.—*Abuses:* Gluttony and drunkenness.

These organs are not fully ascertained, but some facts indicate that they lie in the base of the brain. The first is not marked on the bust, but the second is indicated by 6 *a* on Fig. IV.

1. AMATIVENESS.—Produces sexual love.
2. PHILOPROGENITIVENESS.—*Uses:* Affection for young and tender beings.—*Abuses:* Pampering and spoiling children.
3. CONCENTRATIVENESS.—*Uses:* It renders permanent, emotions and ideas in the mind.—*Abuses:* Morbid dwelling on internal emotions and ideas, to the neglect of external impressions.
3. *a*. INHABITIVENESS.—*Uses.* It produces the desire of permanence in place.—*Abuses:* Aversion to move abroad.
4. ADHESIVENESS.—*Uses:* Attachment: friendship and society result from it.—*Abuses:* Clanship for improper objects, attachment to worthless individuals. It is generally strong in women.
5. COMBATIVENESS.—*Uses:* Courage to meet danger and overcome difficulties, tendency to oppose and attack whatever requires opposition, and to resist unjust encroachments.—*Abuses:* Love of contention, and tendency to provoke and assault. This feeling obviously adapts man to a world in which danger and difficulty abound.
6. DESTRUCTIVENESS.—*Uses:* Desire to destroy noxious objects, and to kill for food. It is very discernible in carnivorous animals.—*Abuses:* Cruelty, murder, desire to torment, tendency to passion, rage, and harshness and severity in speech and writing. This feeling places man in harmony with death and destruction, which are woven into the system of sublunary creation.
7. SECRETIVENESS.—*Uses:* Tendency to restrain within the mind the various emotions and ideas that involuntarily present themselves, until the judgment has approved of giving them utterance; it is simply the propensity to conceal, and is an ingredient in prudence.—*Abuses:* Cunning, deceit, duplicity, and lying.
8. ACQUISITIVENESS.—*Uses:* Desire to possess, and tendency to accumulate articles of utility, to provide against want.—*Abuses:* Inordinate desire of property, selfishness, avarice, theft.

9. **CONSTRUCTIVENESS.**—*Uses:* Desire to build and construct works of art.—*Abuses:* Construction of engines to injure or destroy, and fabrication of objects to deceive mankind.

## GENUS II.—SENTIMENTS.

### I. *Sentiments common to Man with the Lower Animals.*

10. **SELF-ESTEEM.**—*Uses:* Self-respect, self-interest, love of independence, personal dignity.—*Abuses:* Pride, disdain, overweening conceit, excessive selfishness, love of dominion.
11. **LOVE OF APPROBATION.**—*Uses:* Desire of the esteem of others, love of praise, desire of fame or glory.—*Abuses:* Vanity, ambition, thirst for praise independently of praiseworthiness.
12. **CAUTIOUSNESS.**—*Uses:* It gives origin to the sentiment of fear, the desire to shun danger, and circumspection; and it is an ingredient in prudence.—*Abuses:* Excessive timidity, poltroonery, unfounded apprehensions, despondency, melancholy.
13. **BENEVOLENCE.**—*Uses:* Desire for the happiness of others, universal charity, mildness of disposition, and a lively sympathy with the enjoyment of all animated beings.—*Abuses:* Profusion, injurious indulgence of the appetites and fancies of others, prodigality, facility of temper.

### II. *Sentiments Proper to Man.*

14. **VENERATION.**—*Uses:* Tendency to venerate or respect whatever is great and good; gives origin to religious adoration.—*Abuses:* Senseless respect for unworthy objects consecrated by time or situation, love of antiquated customs, abject subserviency to persons in authority, superstitious awe.
15. **FIRMNESS.**—*Uses:* Determination, perseverance, steadiness of purpose.—*Abuses:* Stubbornness, infatuation, tenacity in evil.
16. **CONSCIENTIOUSNESS.**—*Uses:* It gives origin to the sentiment of justice, or respect for the rights of others, openness to conviction, the love of truth.—*Abuses:* Scrupulous adherence to noxious principles when ignorantly embraced, excessive refinement in the views of duty and obligation, excess in remorse or self-condemnation.
17. **HOPE.**—*Uses:* Tendency to expect future good; it cherishes faith.—*Abuses:* Credulity with respect to the attainment of what is desired, absurd expectations of felicity not founded on reason.
18. **WONDER.**—*Uses:* The desire of novelty; admiration of the new, the unexpected, the grand, the wonderful, and extraordinary.—*Abuses:* Love of the marvellous, and occult; senseless astonishment; belief in false miracles, in prodigies, magic, ghosts, and other supernatural absurdities.—*Note.* Veneration, Hope, and Wonder, combined, give the tendency to religion; their abuses produce superstition.
19. **IDEALITY.**—*Uses:* Love of the beautiful and splendid, desire of excellence, poetic feeling.—*Abuses:* Extravagance and absurd enthusiasm, preference of the showy and glaring to the solid and useful, a tendency to dwell in the regions of fancy and to neglect the duties of life.
19. *a.* The organ of Sublimity: but not sufficiently ascertained.
20. **WIT.**—Gives the feeling of the ludicrous, and disposes to mirth.
21. **IMITATION.**—Copies the manners, gestures, and actions of others, and appearances in nature generally.

## Order II. INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES.

## Genus I. EXTERNAL SENSES.

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| FEELING OR TOUCH.<br>TASTE.<br>SMELL.<br>HEARING.<br>SIGHT. | } | <i>Uses:</i> To bring man into communication with external objects, and to enable him to enjoy them.— <i>Abuses:</i> Excessive indulgence in the pleasures arising from the senses, to the extent of impairing bodily health, and debilitating or deteriorating the mind. |
|---|---|---|

## GENUS II. KNOWING FACULTIES, WHICH PERCEIVE THE EXISTENCE AND QUALITIES OF EXTERNAL OBJECTS.

22. INDIVIDUALITY—Takes cognizance of existence and simple facts.
23. FORM—Renders man observant of form.
24. SIZE—Gives the idea of space, and enables him to appreciate dimension and distance.
25. WEIGHT—Communicates the perception of momentum, weight, and resistance; and aids equilibrium.
26. COLORING—Gives perception of colors and their harmonies.

## GENUS III. KNOWING FACULTIES, WHICH PERCEIVE THE RELATIONS OF EXTERNAL OBJECTS.

27. LOCALITY—Gives the idea of relative position.
28. NUMBER—Gives the talent for calculation.
29. ORDER—Communicates the love of physical arrangement.
30. EVENTUALITY—Takes cognizance of occurrences or events.
31. TIME—Gives rise to the perception of duration.
32. TUNE—The sense of Melody and Harmony arises from it.
33. LANGUAGE—Gives facility in acquiring a knowledge of arbitrary signs to express thoughts, readiness in the use of them, and the power of inventing and recollecting them.

## GENUS IV. REFLECTING FACULTIES, WHICH COMPARE, JUDGE, AND DISCRIMINATE.

34. COMPARISON—Gives the power of discovering analogies, resemblances, and differences.
35. CAUSALITY—Traces the dependences of phenomena, and the relation of cause and effect.

*Note.*—In Fig. IV., the organs 8, 9 and 6 *a.* are placed too high. They should be brought downwards, and a little forwards.

Fig. III.

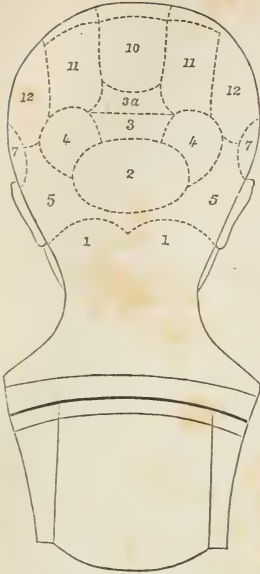


Fig. IV.



Fig. V.

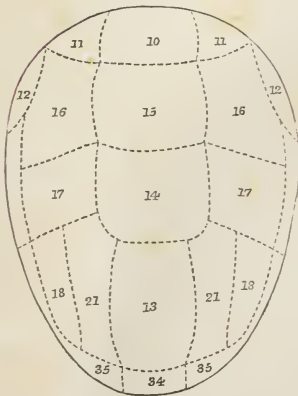
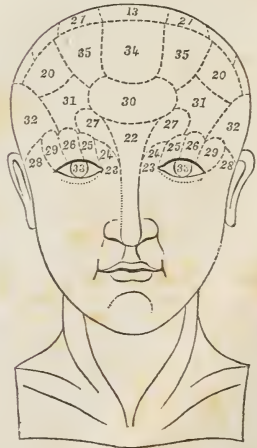


Fig. VI.







# ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

## A M E R I C A N E D I T I O N .

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MR. COMBE transmitted the sheets of his Journal to an American friend in Philadelphia, with a request to the latter that he would exercise unlimited jurisdiction in preparing it for publication on this side of the Atlantic, by correcting errors, softening language, omitting within reasonable bounds, supplying by notes, and in short doing every thing which his "own good taste may dictate to render it useful in America, without departing from the objects and principles which characterise the work." In making this request, Mr. Combe was prompted by a desire to be accurate in his statements, and not by a fear of responsibility for opinions deliberately formed. Accordingly, his "friend" has endeavored to meet the wish of the author in the first particular, by making the necessary corrections, in the text, of various matters of detail, in which a journalist travelling through a country, and occupied, moreover, as Mr. Combe so frequently was in the arduous and engrossing duty of lecturing, may be readily supposed to commit mistakes. That these were not more numerous and important must surprise both friends and critics. As regards the opinions of Mr. Combe on men and things, the institutions, political and educational, in the United States, and the manners, morals and intelligence of the people, his "friend" did not believe himself to be called upon either to omit or to curtail the recorded expression of them in the Notes. They are, therefore, with two or three slight and unimportant exceptions, retained precisely as they are set forth in the English edition.

On some occasions, however, Mr. Combe has advanced opinions on imperfect data, and to these some modifications and corrections have been added in the form of foot notes, designated by a letter, thus (*a*). The notes of the author have the common star \* or cross † prefixed to them.

In the performance of his task of revision, the Philadelphia friend of Mr. Combe has been materially aided by two gentlemen in Boston, who, in compliance with a request of the author to that effect, kindly furnished several corrections of the text.

It is hardly necessary to make any addition to the remarks of Mr. Combe himself, in his "Introduction," explanatory of the circumstances and feelings under which he wrote his Journal. The reader ought, however, to be apprised, in advance, of a great difference between the present work and all other books of travels in the United States. Instead of a standard either arbitrary or conventional of British laws, customs and prejudices, by which British travellers have, heretofore, measured every thing in this country, Mr. Combe lays down one to which the American people will not refuse their assent, viz: the innate faculties of the mind, and the opportunities furnished by the country and its institutions for their adequate development and active and harmonious exercise. The question proposed and discussed by Mr. Combe is, not how far we act and think, and evince taste, in unison with the people of Europe, but rather, how nearly, with our powers and opportunities, our vast capacities and incitements to progressive action and improvement, we can approach towards supplying them with a model of political institutions, based on liberty and sustained by general education and practical religion. Frequent and instructive as are the allusions to these points by Mr. Combe in the following pages, the subject is not more than opened to the attention of the inquiring reader, who will, probably, with an appetite just whetted, desire to be more fully gratified by a comprehensive and professedly philosophical work from the pen of Mr. Combe himself, in which might be traced the workings of American mind as modified by American institutions.

## CHAPTER I.

Voyage in the Great Western Steamship from Bristol to New York.

1838.

ON the 8th of September, 1838, we sailed from the wharf at Bristol in the Cambrian steamboat, and found ourselves amid an immense multitude of men, women, and children, dogs, bales, bags, porters, and musicians. We were cheered by the strains—not very dulcet, of a harp and a violin, as we descended the stream of the muddy, yet romantic Avon. In sailing down the river, we saw two persons shoot across the gulf, of which it forms the narrow bottom, in a car, slung on an iron bar 785 feet in length, and 170 feet above our heads. It is used by the workmen now engaged in constructing a suspension-bridge from cliff to cliff across the stream.

In an hour and a half we were on board of the Great Western, lying at anchor in King-Road. Her first appearance disappointed us; for we had heard much of her great dimensions. When compared with the vessels lying near her, she was seen to be very long, but neither remarkably broad nor high. This was her third voyage outward. She was launched on 19th July, 1837, and sailed on her first voyage to New York on 2d April, 1838.\*

The passengers were gay; and, although many of us looked wistfully at the receding shores of England, there was no possibility of indulging in sentiment in such a scene of bustle. On entering the ship, every thing seemed confusion doubly confounded. The middle portion of the after-deck was occupied by a suite of new state-rooms, erected on it since her first voyage, directly above the great skylight of the saloon; and a space of

|   | Feet. | In. |
|---|-------|-----|
| * The length of her keel is . . . . .             | 205   | 0   |
| Breadth within, clear of paddle-wheels, . . . . . | 35    | 4   |
| Depth of hold, . . . . .                          | 23    | 2   |
| Tonnage, by measurement, . . . . .                | 1340  | 0   |
| Length of after-saloon deck, . . . . .            | 75    | 0   |
| Length of fore-cabin deck, . . . . .              | 59    | 0   |
| Diameter of wheel, . . . . .                      | 28    | 9   |

The engines, with cylinders of 73½ inches in diameter, and with 7 feet length of stroke are equal to 450 horse power.

only a few feet was left on each side, between them and the bulwarks of the vessel. These narrow paths were literally blocked up with people and luggage.

On descending, the saloon appeared long, narrow, high in the ceiling for a ship, and very tastefully ornamented, but dark and gloomy. On repairing to our state-room (Nos. 19 and 20), we found it nearly the worst in the main-cabin; almost at the stern of the vessel, and the lower bed so narrow, owing to the bend in the timbers, that it admitted the occupant to lie on his side, but not on his back, if his shoulders were of any approach to Herculean dimensions. Early in July we had obtained the services of a friend in Bristol, well acquainted with the vessel, to secure berths for us; and these were the best that he could find then disengaged. We now learned the cause of our bad fortune. The Board of Directors in Bristol, with a surprising self-denial, allot certain berths to London and certain berths to Liverpool, which can be engaged in these cities only, and these are the best in the Saloon; they reserve the worst for Bristol. Thus, although we went early to the fountain-head, as we thought, we were not so successful as some who had used less foresight.

As many travellers now cross the Atlantic, it may interest those who are meditating a voyage, to learn the nature and extent of the accommodations provided for them. We paid eighty guineas for the fare of two persons, and had a state-room six feet square, with a window five or six inches in diameter, opening, close on the upper bed, to the sea. This left our apartment still dusky. We had two beds, three small drawers, two basins and stands, a shelf, water-bottles, and a few large pegs for hanging clothes on. We set busily to work to arrange our luggage. The trunks not required during the voyage were placed "below" in the hold, and order was soon produced in our little world. It was wonderful how soon order arose also in the ship, by each passenger having his effects quietly conveyed to his own state-room.

At five o'clock P. M. all friends left the vessel, and we sailed. Tears streamed from many a glistening eye; but when the pang of parting was over, we received three hearty cheers from several steamboats, crowded with company, who had come to see us off. The promontories, and rising grounds of the shore, also, were crowded with people, who cheered us as we passed down the Severn.

Half-past 7 P. M.—Wind northeast; sails set full on the two front masts (for the ship has *four* masts altogether); and we move gloriously down the channel. Already, however, owing to our inexperience, a disagreeable incident has occurred to us.

The door of our state-room opens directly on one of the dining-tables. At tea, we naturally seated ourselves there; but were soon displaced. We were then first informed, that it has long been a practice in the New York sailing-packets, for passengers to choose their places at table at the first meal, and to keep them during the voyage. No previous notice of this rule was given to the passengers. The first meal, on this occasion, was a cold collation, at which we and our friends all seemed to us to sit promiscuously. Some experienced gentlemen, however, whose berths were in the lower regions, familiarly named the "catacombs," had taken possession of the seats opposite our state-room, and we found all the places at table already appropriated, except those in the least accessible and least comfortable part of the saloon. Two of these we were obliged to occupy during the voyage.

This custom is not convenient in steam-ships. In the sailing packets there are no berths on the lower or upper decks: all enter directly from the saloon. There is, therefore, no inducement to any person to seat himself opposite the door of his neighbor's state-room; but in the steam-ships, half of the passengers sleep below or above the saloon. The proper seats for them at table would be those on the inner sides, leaving those opposite the saloon state-rooms for the occupants of these apartments. To ladies this makes a great difference. There are many days when they could venture to come to table if one step sufficed to carry them into their berths when uncomfortable, although they could not encounter a walk of thirty or forty yards down one side and up another of a very long table, staggering against waiters, in a rolling sea, as we had to do on this occasion.

Sunday, "Sept. 9.—Noon, wind westerly; Lat.  $51^{\circ} 3'$ , Long.  $6^{\circ} 52'$ ; distance run 150 miles; weather moderate, cloudy."

Such is the official report of the ship's log, which is consulted every day with intense interest by the passengers shortly after noon. The sea was smooth all night, and most of us rose in excellent health. The rules of the ship were now produced. Nothing is said in them about taking seats for the voyage. All lights in the saloon must be extinguished at half past eleven, and in the state-rooms at twelve. This leaves us in profound darkness when many need assistance; but the danger of fire has rendered this rule necessary. In some steam-ships, however, a wick floating in oil in a glass cup, burns all night, to the great comfort of the sick, while it is so constructed that fire from it seems nearly impossible. Thermometer  $62^{\circ}$ . Saw several ships, but no land.

We were called to prayers in the saloon, and a sermon on the

evidences of Christianity was preached by a clergyman, one of the passengers. He introduced very appropriately Dr. Beattie's illustration to his son, of the existence of God, called forth by sowing seed in a plot of ground in the form of the letters of the child's name. When the boy saw the letters, he called his father to observe the wonder. His father asked what was wonderful? Some one must have done it, said the child. Why, may not the seed have grown in those forms by chance? asked the father. Impossible, said the child; and on this admission, he founded his argument in demonstration of the Being of a God. This was new to most of the children on board, and produced a strong impression on the more intelligent among them.

The tables in the saloon are fixed to the floor, and it is impossible to walk in it. As we have scarcely any space on deck for locomotion, we feel as if imprisoned.

Monday, "Sept. 10.—Wind northerly; Lat.  $50^{\circ} 32'$ , Long.  $11^{\circ} 37'$ ; distance 203 miles; A. M. squally;\* rain; P. M. fresh breeze; cloudy; westerly swell."

The wind has blown strongly from the north all night, and the distress of the passengers has been horrible. The attendance on the sufferers has been very deficient. In the afternoon, we passed several ships, and saw abundance of Stormy Petrels. It is evident that the children on board suffer much less from sea-sickness than the adults.

Tuesday, "Sept. 11.—Wind S.W.; Lat.  $50^{\circ}$ , Long.  $16^{\circ} 54'$ ; distance 208 miles; A. M. light breeze, small rain; P. M. fresh breeze."

This day the wind is strong from the south-west, and a heavy sea is running. Still we carry sail and advance. The passengers complain not a little of inattention in the servants, and of bad arrangements.

Wednesday, "Sept. 12.—Wind W.S.W.; Lat.  $49^{\circ} 38'$ , Long.  $22^{\circ} 05'$ ; distance 203 miles; A. M. rain, westerly swell; P. M. strong breezes and squally."

A heavy sea is rolling, and many of the passengers are again ill. Others, however, have recovered, and their enjoyments aggravate the sufferings of the sick. There are on board 142 passengers, of all ages and both sexes. The saloon accommodates about 120 at dinner. Champagne, hock, claret, port, sherry, madeira, brandy, porter, ale, and soda-water, are served out to all at their pleasure. Apparently, some of the individuals on

\* A landsman will understand the relative force of the wind expressed by the nautical terms used in the ship's log, by the following table.—  
0. Calm; 1. Light air; 2. Light breeze; 3. Gentle breeze; 4. Moderate breeze; 5. Fresh breeze; 6. Strong breeze; 7. Moderate gale; 8. Fresh gale; 9. Strong gale; 10. Whole gale; 11. Storm; 12. Hurricane.

board have not been accustomed to the use of these wines *ad libitum*, and as they have paid a large sum for their passage, they seem resolved to "take it out," as some of them express it, in wine. While most of the ladies lie sick in bed and suffering severely, separated from the saloon only by a half inch board, these jolly companions pass the afternoon in deep potations, with the usual tavern accompaniments of singing (often not the most choice songs,) rapping on the table, delivering speeches, and cheering. The very smell of their orgies penetrates into the berths of the sick; and the loud, crapulous, everlasting laugh, at nothing, which distinguishes a certain state of cerebral excitement, rings in the ears of the ladies hour after hour. One of them compares her own sufferings to those of Pandemonium, and wishes for a Dante to describe the scene. Some of the sailing packet-ships have reduced their charge, and omitted wine and spirits in their bill of fare; leaving each passenger to call and pay for whatever portion of these he chooses. This rule renders those individuals the most temperate who, under the present system, are the most intemperate. It is because they are not in the habit of using such wine when they have to pay for it, that they indulge so largely, when it is presented to them at their pleasure.

Thursday, "Sept. 13.—Wind W.; Lat. 49° 12', Long. 26° 36'; distance 178 miles; squally; rain at times; westerly swell."

I have seen as heavy seas in the passage between Leith and London as any we have yet encountered, and am rather disappointed with the great Atlantic. We were told before sailing that this ship is so long that she extends over two waves at a time, and does not pitch and roll so much as smaller vessels. She, however, pitches and rolls abundantly; yet she is very staunch, and her engines work with admirable regularity. This evening we had no attendance at our part of the table. The servant assigned to it was drunk and off duty. I am not surprised at this: the gentlemen drink so deeply, and wine and spirits are in such unceasing circulation, that the servants rather deserve praise for the degree of sobriety which they in general exhibit.

Friday, "Sept. 14.—Wind northerly; Lat. 48° 31', Long. 30° 02'; distance 186 miles; strong breezes and squally; rain at times; heavy cross sea."

The weather is very disagreeable, and as there is a great want of room, a good deal of discomfort is felt. We have on board Mr. Wilson and Miss Sherriff, the celebrated vocalists. Mr. Wilson most obligingly favors us occasionally with one of his exquisite songs. To-day at noon we were 120 miles short of the distance which the ship had reached at the end of the same

time in her last voyage. Many passengers are still unwell. Large waves, occasionally a passing vessel, and tumbling porpoises, are the only objects which greet our eyes when we look beyond the deck. Bottles, glasses, and plates are precipitated into the laps of the passengers at every lurch. There are no guards on the table; every object directly obeys the law of gravitation, and the destruction by breakage is prodigious. To-day a brig, close-reefed, has passed our vessel, and Stormy Petrels or Mother Carey's Chickens fly thick around us. The sailors tell landsmen that these birds are never seen at rest, on land or at sea, but sleep and hatch their eggs on the wing!

Saturday, "Sept. 15.—Wind N.N.W. to S.S.W.; Lat.  $47^{\circ} 52'$ , Long.  $34^{\circ} 55'$ ; distance 202 miles; at times a heavy gale and much sea."

Dreary and uncomfortable.

Sunday, "Sept. 16.—Wind westerly; Lat.  $46^{\circ} 48'$ , Long.  $38^{\circ} 19'$ ; distance 194 miles; strong breezes, at times much sea."

The ship rolls and pitches much; but, nevertheless, we have had prayers and sermon in the saloon from an American divine. The passengers mustered pretty numerously. He prayed for the President of the United States, and Victoria, Queen of England. There is a colored family on board who are rich, and the young lady is well educated. So far as I could observe, there was only one gentleman in the ship who addressed them; and he, to the honor of his country, was an Irishman. The father is a merchant at ———, and one of his own ships waits for him at New York. We are told that, on account of their color, this family will find it difficult to obtain apartments in any good hotel in that city.

Monday, "Sept. 17.—Wind westerly; Lat.  $46^{\circ} 15'$ , Long.  $42^{\circ}$ ; distance 182 miles; A.M. strong breezes; P.M. moderate and fine; less sea."

To-day the sun shines, and although the ship rolls considerably, we are now accustomed to the motion, and are nearly all on deck and gay. The narrow space between the deck state-rooms and the bulwarks is so crowded that it is impossible to walk; but to breathe the fresh air, and bask in the sun, is a luxury. We spoke the "St. Lawrence" on her voyage westward. She sailed from Liverpool on the 27th August. We left Bristol twelve days later, and have overtaken her. The waves of the Atlantic are a deep blue; those of the British seas green. This is the chief difference that I perceive between them.

Tuesday, "Sept. 18.—Wind westerly; Lat.  $45^{\circ} 43'$ , Long.  $45^{\circ} 07'$ ; distance 164 miles; A.M. strong breezes and squally, with at times a gale; P.M. light airs."

Last night it blew hard from the west, with a heavy head sea.



The engineer put out two of his furnaces, and slackened his speed to five miles an hour. He wastes coals, and gains no compensating advantage by steaming hard against a head-wind and sea. The engine was reduced to eight strokes in the minute: it is capable of performing sixteen, and in this voyage has pretty generally done twelve.

A lottery of sixty tickets, at a sovereign each, has been set on foot, the prizes in which are to be decided by the hour at which the New York pilot shall board the vessel. Each ticket bears one hour, commencing at 6 P.M. ship's time, on Sunday, 23d September, and they extend over the subsequent sixty hours. They are all put into a hat, and the subscribers draw one for each sovereign which they deposit. There are five prizes, and the holder of the ticket bearing the hour at which the pilot boards us, gets the highest, and the holder of each of the next four hours receives one of the minor prizes. The parties to the lottery present three tickets to the mates and ship's pilot.

One of the ladies complained to-day that the passengers in the state-rooms adjoining hers, carried wine or stronger liquors into their berths, and continued their bacchanalian orgies and singing till half-past twelve, much to her annoyance. There is a great deal of card-playing and heavy betting on board.

About 3 P. M. the wind changed to the east, and the sea became smooth. The square sails were set, and the engine was put at full speed. At 10 P. M. we were going at the rate of twelve miles an hour.

Wednesday, "Sept. 19.—Wind E. to W.; Lat.  $44^{\circ} 58'$ , Long.  $51^{\circ} 13'$ ; distance 231 miles; A.M. calm; at 2, breezes; P.M. fresh breezes; rain, northerly swell."

We are now on the great Bank of Newfoundland, and have dense fog and rain. This is the constant weather here. The soundings give from 28 to 40 and 50 fathoms. The waves are now green. The great depth of the ocean gave them their blue color.

Thursday, "Sept. 20.—Wind S.N., N. W.; Lat.  $44^{\circ} 16'$ , Long.  $55^{\circ} 04'$ ; distance 206 miles; A.M. fresh breezes, foggy, rain; P.M. strong gales; cross sea."

I very reverently beg pardon of the Atlantic for any disrespectful terms used in describing its appearance in the previous pages; to-day, it has come forth in all its glory. Very early this morning a regular equinoctial gale from the north-west sprang up, and blew with great violence all day; yet the sky was clear, and the sun shone brilliantly. Wave after wave, as high as the top of our huge paddle-boxes, came rolling on, and our gallant ship rose majestically over them. All sickness was now past,

and seated on the highest part of the deck, near the steersman, I saw the sublime moving masses of water rolling slowly yet irresistibly on, embodying the very spirit of gigantic power. My whole frame thrilled with pleasing excitement. The wall of dark blue water (for we had now passed the Bank) appeared far above the bow of the vessel, as the wave approached us. In a few moments she breasted it, and rode triumphantly over its crest. With the speed of lightning, she rushed down the watery steep; and anon, the wave, foaming with her pressure, rolled high above the stern, and showed her track far in the wake. The spray flew from stem to stern, but she shipped no heavy seas. She felt firm as a rock, and neither quivered nor quailed beneath the giant blows of the mighty element. The captain, Hoskens, stood for hours beside the steersman, and gave the word how to direct her to the gale, and his eye beamed and his countenance was lighted up with joy, as he contemplated her admirable performance. When in the hollow of the waves, we seemed as if sunk in an abyss of water. When we rose on their crests, the commotion of the sea all around was magnificent. Looking at the horizon, where the heavens seemed to touch the water, even at that vast distance, the swell and fall were distinguishable. Every billow wore a crest of snow-white foam, which added life and grace to its stately mass. The engine labored a little when the paddles were immersed deeply in the wave; but never was for a moment arrested. The performance of the ship and machinery were admirable, and no sentiment of danger presented itself, even to the imagination.

After enjoying the sublime scene for several hours, and desiring much to have seen from the deck of another vessel, our own noble ship rushing onward against the gale and the sea, a spectacle of power that does honor to human art, I continued my position, and, holding on by a rope attached to the hind mast, read the opening scene of the *Talisman*, in Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of the Crusaders*. The imagination was transported in an instant to the calm, sultry, desert regions of the Dead Sea, while the reader was careering amidst the wild Atlantic billows, and fanned by an equinoctial gale! The enjoyment was exquisite.

The scene in the saloon was not so sublimely captivating. There all was confusion. Chairs, dishes, wine-glasses, and decanters, men and children, rolled on the floor, as they were shaken from the table and the seats. The sufferings of sickness with many of the ladies were renewed. C—— was in her berth, unable to lift her head, and on the little window being opened for one moment for air, the sea rushed in in a fearful torrent, and

inundated her clothes. She quietly observed, that she had almost rivalled the celebrated Mrs. Partington, for she had mopped the Atlantic out of her bed!

The gale continued the whole day, and about 6 P. M. the fore-yard gave way. The foresail was the only one set, and had steadied us a little. The spar was replaced with sailor-like celerity.

A gentleman on board told me that he saw this ship when building, and that her timbers are exceedingly strong, and so close that it is impossible to insert the edge of the hand between her ribs. The engine rests on a vast frame, the beams of which extend to, and press equally on, every part of her bottom, so that there is no accumulation of pressure on the middle of her keel, as many landsmen believe. Her performance to-day accords with this description.

Amidst this sea, the cooking went on without interruption; and a sumptuous breakfast, dinner, and tea, that would have done no discredit to a London tavern, were placed on the table. There, however, many of the viands remained only while they were held by the hands of the servants or guests. About seventenths of our whole complement of passengers mustered at dinner, and there was great mirth at the many ludicrous incidents that occurred in such a scene.

Friday, "Sept. 21.—Wind W.N.W.; Lat. 43° 08', Long. 58° 31', distance 188 miles; A. M. fresh breezes, foggy; P. M. more moderate; light breezes, fine, less sea."

To-day the sun shines clear and benignant, over a comparatively calm sea. The passengers are all on deck, gay and full of hope of a speedy termination to the voyage. At 8 A. M. the thermometer stood at 67° in the shade.

No circumstance connected with this voyage has been so little anticipated by me as the rapid rate at which, if I may use such an expression, we run away from time. It is only thirteen days since we left Bristol, and already the sun is four hours later than my watch, which still shows the London hours. We have in this brief period sailed over an extent of the earth's surface, equal to that accomplished in four hours by the globe turning on its axis. Of course, every child who has been instructed in the rudiments of geography has learned that it must be so, as we have now run 60 degrees of longitude; but the actual perception of a phenomenon like this, strikes the mind more forcibly than the mere knowledge of it. I never before had so strong an impression of the diminutive size of the globe which we inhabit.

Saturday, "Sept. 22.—Wind W.N.W.; southerly; Lat. 41° 58', Long. 63° 36', distance 251 miles; light breezes and hazy."

This has been a deliciously calm day. A light wind has blown from the south, and the thermometer has stood at 67°. We have

carried sail on all our four masts. The engine has performed fifteen and sixteen strokes per minute, its greatest available speed, and our actual progression has been from eleven to twelve miles an hour.

To-day, the passengers formed themselves into a court of Criminal Sessions, to try one of their own number for disturbing the public peace. He was arraigned under the name of Jingle Jingle, Esq., and his offence was disturbing the company in the fore-cabin, by rising and making sundry noises at half-past five o'clock in the morning. The ex-Governor of the State of —— was appointed judge; Mr. A—— clerk of court; Mr. B—— constable; Professor —— attorney-general; and Messrs. —— and —— defendant's counsel. A huge hand-spike served as the mace of court. A jury was empannelled; and a most impartial trial was granted. The speeches of the learned gentlemen, who conducted the prosecution and defence, would have done honor to Westminster Hall. The jury found the pannel guilty, and the judge, in consideration of its being his first offence, sentenced him only to eat his soup with a fork, and to have no grog till he arrived at New York.

At half-past three P. M., we bore down and spoke the ship "Bazaar," out thirty-five days from Liverpool, and bound for Boston. It was a beautiful sight. She had all sails set, yet we passed her like an arrow.

After dinner, Mr. Wilson and Miss Sherriff favored us with a duet: We then had "God save the Queen," from Mr. Wilson, the company joining in the chorus; "La Parisienne," from a party of Frenchmen; and "the Star-Spangled Banner," from an American gentleman. This was a lively and interesting scene; it was gratifying to hear the sons of these rival, and too long hostile, nations, cordially joining in the choruses of each other's songs.

Sunday, "Sept. 23.—Wind S.S.W.; Lat. 40° 55', Long. 68° 19', distance 244 miles, fresh breezes and foggy; strong breezes and heavy squalls."

We are now on St. George's Bank, and enveloped in a dense fog, accompanied with a high temperature and much damp. A huge horn, like a coachman's, has been blown all night, to warn ships of our approach. We had prayers and a sermon in the saloon.

Monday, "Sept. 24.—Wind S.S.W.; to W.N.W. Lat. 40° 29', Long. 72° 26', distance 198 miles: A. M. strong breezes, and heavy squalls with rain."

At two P. M. the welcome sound of "land in sight," was transmitted with the rapidity of an electric spark, through the ship. We saw Long Island, and coasted it for several hours.

Those to whom the sight was new, watched its hills and trees with deep interest.

Ten minutes to seven, P. M. We have had a glorious sunset. The pilot has just come on board. There is a great excitement, as the prizes in the lottery are decided. So high has the spirit of gambling now risen that, before he entered the ship, bets were offered and taken on the color of his eyes and whiskers, his stature, and even whether he were right or left handed. He was so closely scrutinized by those whose sovereigns were depending on his appearance, that his temper was at first a little ruffled; but when he was told the object of the survey, he submitted to it with much good humor. The passengers passed a vote of thanks to the captain and ship's officers, and resolutions in commendation of the ship.

Sandy-hook is a promontory of sand, in the form which its name indicates, running into the sea at the entrance of the Bay of New York. Its light-house is fully twenty miles from the city, the approach to which is by a winding channel. As soon as we were fairly in the bay, we fired three guns, and burnt three blue lights. Several news boats were speedily on board of us; and at eleven, P. M., we cast anchor in the Quarantine roadstead, close to Staten Island, and within sight of the lights of New York, distant six or seven miles. Many of the passengers proceeded directly to the city; but we being strangers to the new world, felt no such overpowering impatience, and therefore slept on board.\*

Tuesday, Sept. 25. At day-break the anchor was weighed, and we sailed towards the city. It was a splendid autumnal morning; the air was clear, fresh, and bracing, and the sun brilliant. The waters were smooth, and all around was land, beautiful in its outlines, and studded with houses, white as snow, and embosomed among trees. The earth, however, looked parched, after a summer of excessive heat, forming a striking contrast to that which we had just left in Scotland. We had suffered under a cold sky and constant rain; while here life was rendered nearly intolerable by a temperature almost unprecedentedly high. The bay was covered with ships, whose sails shone in the sun with unsullied whiteness, rarely seen in England. The Americans bleach their canvass, and their harbors are not blackened by coal-smoke, as in the country of their forefathers. Steam-boats darted out from every point of the land, and rushed along with astonishing speed. They were crowded with passengers, and forcibly

\* I have heard, that, since this voyage, the *Great Western* has undergone great improvements, both in the arrangement of the berths on deck, and in the servants' department, and that she is now a comfortable and well managed ship.

recalled the remarks which we had read of the locomotive propensity of the American people.

At 8 A. M. we were safely moored opposite the quay in the East River, as the sound between Long Island and Manhattan Island, on the latter of which New York stands, is somewhat improperly named. The first aspect of the city, on the side of the East River, strikingly resembles that of Amsterdam. High, irregular, red brick fabrics, with innumerable masts, extending over a space of two miles in length, and half shading the houses from the eye, characterise both. The custom-house officers came immediately on board, and a new scene of bustle and confusion commenced. The prodigious quantity of luggage belonging to our very numerous passengers, blocked up every foot of our narrow decks, and made it difficult to move. The search against contraband goods commenced, and nothing could be more reasonable and gentlemanly than the conduct of the officers. About twelve o'clock, a general permission from the custom-house arrived, and we and our effects were allowed to land. The confusion was now redoubled. Porters, carters, hackney-coachmen, friends of passengers, loungers, "loafers," and pick-pockets, rushed on deck up the single narrow gangway, while down it, at the same time, poured passengers, trunks, bags, and baggage, in an equally rapid current. We sat quietly and saw the stream flow on for two hours, before we attempted to mingle in it. To add to the interest of the scene, some of the servants of the ship were carrying out the live geese which had not been required during the passage, while others were hoisting out the swine, by tackle attached to their feet, and both birds and beasts were rending the air with their screams, occasioned by the rough treatment which they experienced. At length, at 2 P.M., we landed, and drove to the Carlton House Hotel, in Broadway, kept by an Englishman, but in the American style.

## CHAPTER II.

American Hotels—First impressions from New York—The Great Fire—Exchange with London—American Currency—Exchange Offices for American Bank Notes—Difference between New York and English Towns—Theatres—Phrenology.

1838.

*The American Hotels* have often been described. They are very large; all the guests breakfast, dine, and drink tea at a public table, and each has a small bed-room. During the interval between meals, such of the gentlemen as are not engaged in business abroad, smoke, drink, talk politics, or traffic in the bar-room, or reading-room; and the fair sex gossip, flirt, or “rock” in a handsome apartment named the ladies’ parlor. It generally contains a piano-forte, and they may be seen playing, and heard singing, with the same self-possession amidst crowds of visitors, as if they were in their own sanctuaries at home. Custom renders this mode of life agreeable to many of them. Few indulge in private parlors, both on account of the expense, and because they prefer the busy throng.

*The first impression* made on us by New York was not pleasing. Its character necessarily partakes of that of all seaport towns. In the lower part of the city, next the rivers, the streets are narrow, dirty, and adorned by large fat swine, enjoying the same freedom of locomotion which the United States grant to the natives of every clime who seek their shores. The pavement is rough, and much of it in bad condition. The houses are irregular; and the suspicion at once arises that there is no efficient police attending to the general welfare of the town. At 8 P. M., I walked to the Post-office, and found the streets dark, large portions of them having unlighted lamps. I soon learned that they were dark because the moon was in her first quarter, and was expected to shine. In the United States, this expectation is more reasonable than in Britain; but on this evening clouds obscured her rays, and this great city appeared to the eye of a foreigner, who had been accustomed to Edinburgh and London, both dismal and unsafe.

25th Sept. *The great topic of conversation* here is Lord Brougham’s attack on Lord Durham, for banishing the Cana-

dian patriots, as they call themselves, or rebels as the English style them, to Bermuda, beyond the limits of his jurisdiction. Lord Brougham's conduct is strongly condemned.

*The great fire.*—We visited the scene of the great fire in New York in December in 1835. Every trace of it is now obliterated, and many proprietors have received a larger sum for the ground on which their former warehouses stood, than the whole fabrics, including the site, would have brought before the conflagration. The commercial community is rapidly recovering from the embarrassments of 1837, when the banks suspended specie payments; and the quays and streets indicate great activity in trade.

*The rate of Exchange* between London and New York, has been for some months against England; and our London banker advised us to carry sovereigns instead of banker's bills. They were received by a bank in New York at four dollars and 85 cents each; which is the par value, at which they are current in the United States. We had occasion afterwards to obtain remittances from London, and as utility is the chief object of this work, I may describe the machinery by means of which it was accomplished. A sum was deposited to our credit with our bankers in that city. They wrote to their correspondent in New York, that they would honor our draft at sight for the amount. We gave this correspondent a letter, addressed to his principals in London, authorising him to draw in our names. He employed a broker in Wall street (the Stock Exchange of New York,) to sell the draft at the common rate of exchange of the day. If the sum was below 1000*l.*, he charged 1½ per cent. commission for this transaction; if above 1000*l.*, one per cent., of which the broker received ¼ per cent. for his trouble. These rates appeared high, contrasted with the commission charged by British bankers, but I was informed that they were usual, and also necessary to cover the risk encountered by the New York agents in drawing on such houses as Messrs. Coutts and Company, or Messrs. Hammersley and Company, on their letters agreeing to accept, and paying the proceeds of the draft over at once to a stranger! By the law of England, such letters are not equivalent to acceptance, although by that of New York\* and of Scotland they are so; if the purchaser of the draft have seen them, and on the strength of them given a valuable consideration for it. Legal difficulties, therefore, might, by possibility, be interposed between the London banker and the holder of the bill after it is drawn, and before it is paid, for the consequences of which his New York correspondent would be responsible.† It was men-

\* 1 Revised Statutes, 768, § 8.

† To prevent litigation, the Legislature of the state of New York has



tioned to me, however, by several persons, that a respectable broker will sell such bills of exchange, and deliver the amount directly to the drawer for his usual commission of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., justly regarding the risk as merely nominal.

*Value of American Currency.*—By an act of Congress, the value of a pound sterling is established at four dollars, forty-four cents, and four hundred and forty-nine thousand parts of a cent, and in England the value of a dollar, Federal money, is established at 4s. 6d. sterling. As these values are no longer real, the actual value is ascertained by so many per cent. added to these rates, and called *above* par, or deducted from them, and named *under* par. The *actual* par is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. added to the \$4.44  $\frac{449}{10000}$  cents of Congress currency; or 4 dollars 85 cents for each pound sterling. During our stay in America, the exchange rose as high as  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *premium*, or to \$4.91 cents for each pound; and fell as low as  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *premium*, or \$4.73 cents for the pound sterling.

*Exchange Offices.*—A stranger is much surprised on seeing the great number of Exchange offices in New York, bearing an intimation that current and uncurrent bank-notes, are there bought, sold, and exchanged. Since President Jackson refused to sign the 'Bill' rechartering the National Bank of the United States, the Union has been inundated by bank-notes of the value of a dollar and upwards, without any efficient machinery for regulating the exchange of them; and as New York is the centre of a vast commerce, notes of banks in every degree of credit, and whose head-quarters, where alone the notes are payable, lie at every degree of distance within the Union, are in circulation. The profession of Bank-bill brokers has, in consequence, sprung up to meet the wants of society, and it appears to be at once an extensive and a lucrative one. Pamphlets\* are published, containing lists of all the banks in the Union and in Canada, and stating the value of their notes; and columns, nearly a yard long

fixed, by special statute (1 R. S. 770, § 18, 19), the rate of damages for non-acceptance or non-payment of bills of exchange. If drawn on any person residing in a place between Maine and Virginia, both inclusive, the rate is 3 per cent.; if in North or South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, or Tennessee, 5 per cent.; if in any other place, Europe included, 10 per cent.; and these damages are in lieu of interest, charges of protest, and all other charges incurred previous to, and at the time of giving notice of non-acceptance or non-payment. Interest is chargeable in addition, after the date of this notice.

\* The following is a standing Advertisement in the New York Papers:—Day's New York Bank-Note List and Counterfeit Detector, containing a list of all the Banks in the United States and Canada; rates of discount and descriptions of counterfeit and altered notes. Terms \$2 per annum: published and for sale by Mahlon Day & Co., 374 Pearl St.

and in small type, may be seen in some of the New York newspapers, embodying the same information. In short, it has become a science nearly as extensive and difficult as Entomology or Conchology, to know the value of the currency of this great country.

*Difference between New York and English Towns.*—The effect on the mind after a few days' residence in this city is singular. The time since we left Bristol, appears to be so short, and the dress, manners, and language of the better classes are so similar to those of the same rank in England that it is difficult to "realize," as the Americans express it, the idea of being so far from home; yet, in reading the newspapers, and listening to conversation, we soon discover that we are in an entirely different *moral* world. Here the newspaper columns glow with the most energetic discussions concerning the merits of William H. Seward, Esq. and Luther Bradish, Esq., who have just been proposed by the Whigs at a convention held at Utica, as the candidates for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-governor of the state; and innumerable other topics, all new to a stranger. As the stranger is cool in proportion to his ignorance and want of interest in the subjects, he receives a lively impression of the activity and intensity of the minds of the people.

The upper parts of this city presents streets, houses, and squares of a handsome description. Many of the houses, although of brick, are said to have cost \$30,000, and are let at \$5000 or \$6000 per annum. Even here, however, swine are seen roaming at large. Broadway is the great thoroughfare of the city. It extends fully two miles from north to south, and is as broad as Regent Street, London; but its architecture presents every variety of elevation, from the wooden frame-houses of two stories, to that of the ample residence of the rich merchant; and these are, in a few instances, standing side by side. The foot-pavement is, in many places, rough and dilapidated, and the *coup d'œil* of the whole is injured by heavy wooden posts rising on the outer margin of the pavement, and used for stretching canvas to shade the shops from the sun.

Sept. 27. *Theatres.*—New York is celebrated for the number of its theatres. The condition of the population is precisely that in which places of public amusement may be expected to be most successful. The city, at all times, contains a large number of strangers, whose evenings are at their own disposal; of young men engaged in trade, who live in boarding houses and hotels, who have plenty of money, and no domestic ties; and of rich merchants, and their families, whose tastes are, to a certain extent, intellectual, but whose mental resources are not very extensive: and these form a solid phalanx of play-going people.

Even with all these advantages, however, Mr. Simpson, the manager of the Park Theatre, has not been fortunate. This evening, he receives a benefit, the tickets at the rate of three dollars (12s. 6d.) for each person, to all parts of the house, to enable him to surmount his difficulties. A friend kindly presented us with tickets; but our other engagements prevented us from accepting them. We learned, however, that the house was crowded in every quarter. The attractions were great; for Madame Vestris, Charles Matthews, Mademoiselle Celeste, and Miss Ellen tree, were all announced to appear in the entertainments. (a)

*Phrenology.*—I was waited on this evening by a number of medical and other gentlemen, to concert measures about my giving a course of lectures on phrenology in New York. I stated to them the rule which I had followed in my own country, namely, not to lecture out of Edinburgh, unless on an invitation accompanied by a guaranty of a class, and that it was my intention to adhere to it in the United States. Phrenology, I remarked, was a disputed subject; it appeared to myself to be true and highly important, and I was therefore willing to teach it to those who desired to hear it explained; but as there were many excellent persons who regarded it as unfounded, others who viewed it as dangerous, and still more who cared nothing about it, I had no wish to obtrude it upon any of these, and should, therefore, not present myself in the attitude of a solicitor for an audience. They engaged to muster a class, and I agreed to give a course of sixteen lectures, of two hours each, at the rate of three in the week, in the Clinton Hall, belonging to the Mercantile Library Association, situated close to the Park, to the public offices, and the great hotels, and, consequently, in the part of the city devoted to public business. A few gentlemen

(a) The following paragraph from the *New York Star*, indicates small encouragement to theatricals at the time (Dec. 1840,) in which we are reading these remarks of the author; "The Park Theatre closed on Saturday evening for want of an audience. When the curtain was rung up, there was not a dollar in the house. Presently, however, one person entered and took his seat in the centre box of the first tier 'solitary and alone.' To him the overture was played. What his feelings were may be more easily 'imagined than described.' He went to see the *comedy* of the Road to Ruin—one of the box openers asked him to take the road to the office, where his dollar was politely returned to him, and he was bowed out. As he was leaving he ran against a member of the free list—an *ex* editor who was hurrying in to see Peter Richings play *Goldfinch*, but that gentleman was on his way to the Olympic where he was afterwards seen laughing very heartily, at the *Cats in the Larder*.

"At the National there was no performance for various reasons 'too numerous to mention.'"

kindly interested themselves as a committee, and Dr. Brigham superintended all preliminary arrangements. The lectures are to commence on the 19th November next. We have secured apartments in the Carlton House from 16th November to 1st January, 1839.

## CHAPTER III.

Voyage on the Hudson to Albany—Albany—Why many objects in America appear unfinished—The Church—Brightness of the Sky—Saratoga—How to know the Americans—Road from Albany to New Lebanon—Pittsfield—Peru—Causes of bad Roads—Chesterfield—Northampton—American Servants—Rev. Jonathan Edwards—Cause of taciturnity at the Public Tables—Banks of Issue, and mania for Speculation—Abolition of Slavery—Worcester—State Lunatic Hospital—Boston—Sunday—The Custom House—No duty on articles of Science—The Institution for the Blind—Books for the Blind—Description of a Common School Convention—Constitution of the Board of Education, and its Powers—Common School Libraries—Normal Schools.

1838.

SEPT. 28. *Voyage to Albany.*—We embarked this morning at seven o'clock on board of the Champlain steamboat for Albany. The boat sailed punctually at the hour, and we found ourselves rushing up the majestic Hudson at the rate of twelve miles an hour. A thick mist, however, almost immediately enveloped us, and our speed was lowered to avoid accidents. No smoking is allowed except in the fore-part of the main-deck. A few passengers, obviously belonging to the less polished class, spat plentifully on the deck; but one of the servants of the ship constantly employed a mop in cleansing the defiled places. The upper, or hurricane deck, was strewed with charcoal, being the lighter embers of the fuel, which are carried up the funnels of the engines by the powerful draught, and which fall, often red-hot, and burn the clothes of the passengers. We now saw the first specimens of American despatch. The steamboat took in and let out passengers at several stations on the river, and the operation was admirably managed. A few minutes before arriving at a town, a man went round the boat ringing a bell, and calling on the passengers who meant to land there, to prepare their luggage. It was sought out and carried to the gangway of the ship; and, in a very few minutes, six or eight passengers, with all their effects, were transferred into the small boat which was lowered to receive them. They were rowed ashore; landed; the small boat returned and was hauled up to the ship's side, and we were again under weigh. All was ac-

completed without noise or bustle, and without any loud commands or harsh talking.

We could see nothing for two hours; afterwards the fog cleared away, and all the rest of the river to Albany appeared in its glory as we glided along. It is lively, picturesque, and considerably varied in its aspects; now a river of a quarter of a mile in breadth, then expanding into a lake of two miles wide, and again contracting into a river. It merits all the encomiums bestowed on it. The number of schooners and sloops that navigate it is very great, and the whiteness of the sails, and elegance of the forms of the vessels, render them beautiful objects in the scene. At 8 P. M. we landed, in moonlight, at Albany, where our relatives waited for us, and gave us a cordial welcome.

Saturday, 29th Sept.—*Albany* is the political capital of the state of New York, and stands on the right bank of the Hudson, on ground sloping rapidly to the river. It commands a view of a beautiful country, abounding in water, wood, mountains, fertile fields, and thriving towns and villages. It was founded by the Dutch in the year 1612, and many of the descendants of the first settlers are still its principal citizens, and understand Dutch. It presents striking contrasts in its architecture. The public buildings having been recently erected by the state, are massive, and in good taste. They are grouped together in an oblong open space, and form an imposing coup d'œil. The churches also and other public buildings are numerous and handsome. Some of the private dwellings harmonise with these objects, but contiguous to them are ill paved streets, over which dirty swine are roaming at large, and where also wooden huts and irregular brick houses abound. The general impression produced is, that the town is only in its infancy, that much of it has been reared in haste, and stands only till its inhabitants shall have time to build edifices more worthy of themselves and their public institutions.

*Why many objects in America appear unfinished.*—The impression of newness and incompleteness, is forced on the mind in this country by most of the objects surveyed. Even the grounds and fences around the mansions of the rich are deficient in that finish and high order which distinguish similar objects in England; and a moment's reflection enables one to discover a reason why this should be the case. Let us suppose a gentleman in each country, whose income is 5000*l.* a year, to expend 20,000*l.* in erecting a mansion-house and laying out grounds; the Englishman sacrifices only 700*l.* per annum of income, estimating the interest of the sum expended at 3½ per cent. per annum;

the American sinks 1400*l.* per annum of income, for in the state of New York, the legal rate of interest is 7 per cent. Again, suppose the labor of five men to be necessary under a head gardener, to keep the garden and pleasure-grounds in perfect condition. In England, laborers may be hired at 12*s.* each per week; which is 156*l.* per annum for the five. In America, the most untutored Irishman working with a spade, receives 4*s.* 2*d.* a day, or 25*s.* a week of wages. So that the five American laborers will cost 325*l.* per annum. The result is, that the American's residence would cost him 1725*l.* per annum, and the Englishman's only 856*l.* Besides, in America, both capital and labor are so much in demand for productive employment, and yield such large returns, that a reflecting mind soon becomes reconciled to the rough and unfinished appearance which so many objects present; it being obvious, that they have been fabricated with the least expenditure of these two elements of wealth which would suffice to render them capable of supplying the immediate wants of the people. This state of things is not unattended with evils. In some houses in Albany, rented as high as 40*l.* a year, there is not a single "wall-press," for holding cups and other small articles in constant use in a family; and many other conveniences of English houses are wanting. Economy of capital, and not want of taste and discernment, is the cause of the omission.

Sunday, 30th Sept.—*The Church.*—Thermometer in the shade 68°. This has been a glorious day of clear, calm, bright sunshine. We attended divine service in the Baptist chapel, and heard Dr. ——— preach. The church was large and handsome, and the congregation numerous and highly respectable in their appearance. Indeed, I already perceive, that that squalid poverty which is at once the affliction and disgrace of the British Isles, is here nearly unknown, except in the persons of a few European emigrants, whose intemperate habits keep them in the same state of degradation in which they existed at home. The discourse was sternly Calvinistic, and the preacher sent Heathens, Mahometans, Catholics, Deists, and Atheists to eternal perdition, with as much zest and self-assurance as could have been exhibited by the most orthodox divine in Scotland. The churches are numerous, and many of them ornamental buildings, and nothing could exceed the propriety of deportment which reigned in the town all day. The morning service commences at 10, and terminates at 12. Dinner is served in the hotels at 1; the afternoon service commences at 3 and ends at 5; and there is evening service at 7.

An English lady who came a passenger in the Great Western, has been taken ill at the hotel here. She has no friends in the

city; but nothing can exceed the kind and assiduous attention with which she is waited on by the American female servants.

*Brightness of the Sky.*—The moon is now nearly full, and shone this evening with such extraordinary brilliancy, compared with its rays in Britain, that it seemed as if it were much nearer to us, and looked as if protruded from the sky. The heavens are of a dark deep blue, and the stars shine with increased brilliancy; the consequence of the pure, dry atmosphere, which we are now breathing. From the combustion of wood and anthracite coal, the only kinds of fuel used here, no dense smoke is produced.

Oct. 1.—*Saratoga.*—By means of a railroad, we visited Saratoga, the great watering-place of the state of New York; and found it a large straggling village, lying in a sandy plain, and consisting of vast hotels, and a few shops. We dined in the Union Hotel, with a small number of lingering visitors; the chief part of the company having left the village about a month ago. We tasted the water of the several springs, enjoyed the fine weather, and returned to Albany in the evening. I had a warm bath, costing half a dollar, at the “Temperance House;” that is, a hotel in which abstinence from spirituous and fermented liquors is the rule. These liquors are not sold, or permitted to be used, in the house, except when prescribed by a physician as medicine. The hotel belongs to Mr. Delavan, who so energetically advocated the cause of temperance in Albany, that the brewers conceived that in one of his speeches he had degenerated into a libel against them, and they are now prosecuting him for damages.

*How to know the Americans.*—A Scotsman, with whom, at a later period of our residence in the United States, we became acquainted, and who is settled in a fertile district as proprietor and farmer of a beautiful piece of land, remarked to me that the only way to know the Americans thoroughly is to “count silver” with them, *anglicé*, to deal with them. Fortified by this wise remark, I shall record my first transaction with them. We wished to hire a private carriage and pair of horses to carry us through part of New England to Worcester, within forty miles of Boston. The fare demanded by all the post-masters was \$7 a-day, including every expense for carriage, coachman, and horses, on the road, except tolls; but one of them stipulated for five days’ hire for going, and as many for returning, making \$70; another asked payment for five days going and four returning or \$63; and a third offered to go in four days and return in three, equal to a charge of \$49. The owner of the best carriage ultimately agreed to accept of \$56, and allow us five days to go.



Oct. 2.—*Road from Albany to New Lebanon.*—We left Albany this morning in our hired carriage for Worcester. It is an open landau, but differs considerably from the vehicle of the same name in England. The wheels are wide apart, but slight and narrow in the rim. The body is hung on old fashioned steel upright springs, with leathern straps. It has no windows, but the sides are not pannelled, but covered by leathern curtains which let up and down at pleasure. It has no pockets; another example of the curtailment which springs from economy. We found it safe, comfortable, and exceedingly well adapted to the roads on which we travelled.

The morning was misty in the city; but on crossing the Hudson and ascending its left bank, we emerged into a clear sunshine. We now entered on a beautiful undulating country, and were delighted with the loveliness of the prospects on either hand, but annoyed by the badness of the road. We paid toll-duties, but the road itself was nearly in a state of nature. There is a complete roof across the road at the turnpike-gate, so that in stopping to pay, the traveller is sheltered from the sun or the rain. American coachmen are renowned for their enterprise and skill. The youth who drove us ascended the numerous hills which we traversed very leisurely, but dashed down the other side with extraordinary rapidity. We allowed him to take his own way, judging that he and his horses best knew the practices of their own country; and we were not disappointed. They were steady and safe.

The old forest has disappeared, but every where new wood in single trees and in groups abounds, and adorns the landscape. The fences, however, are generally of paling or of stones without mortar. In the former instances the timber lies horizontally, one portion obliquely advancing, and the rest obliquely receding from the road, and constitutes what is called a snake-rail, or worm-fence. On some farms, the roots of the trees of the ancient forest have been torn up, and are now ranged side by side on edge along the margin of the field, the flat bottom of the root is turned to the road, and the stump inwards, the whole presenting a gigantic and picturesque fence. In other fields, the old roots have been left in the ground, and are seen in all stages of decay. The wheat, oats, and barley, have long since been reaped and stored in the barns, but the Indian corn is still in the field, with huge rich golden pumpkins growing in the intervals between the stalks.

*New Lebanon.*—Our post-boy drove to New Lebanon, a distance of twenty-five miles, without feeding his horses; having stopped only twice to give them water. This village lies in a paradise of beauty, on the side of a hill, sloping to the south,

and looks down on a basin completely shut in by rising grounds, and embosomed in wood. The foliage now wears the deep, rich-toned variegated livery of autumn, to convey an adequate idea of which surpasses the powers equally of the pencil and the pen. The houses are chiefly of wood, painted pure white; they are unpretending, yet not inelegant in architecture, and well kept. This village is also a watering place, and there are several stupendous hotels to receive the visitors in summer. Three miles distant, on the slope of the hill which forms the eastern side of the valley, there is a large establishment of Shakers. It is said to be exceedingly prosperous, but we did not visit it. We dined here by ourselves, in the Columbian hotel, as all the guests had left it except two, whose meal was finished before we arrived.

We next ascended a steep hill from which many enchanting views were obtained of the scenery below, glowing gorgeously in the golden rays of a declining autumn sun. The country became barren as we ascended, but we speedily again attained a lower level, and at 6 P. M. arrived at Pittsfield.

*Pittsfield.*—This is a beautiful village containing 3570 inhabitants, and we found a good inn. The moon was full, and we walked in the blaze of its light among lovely cottages, shaded by trees, and surrounded by grass and garden plots. In the middle of the village is a large open square, the centre of which is planted with shrubs; and from the midst of them an old and massive tree spreads high his ample boughs;—a tree of the ancient forest spared to tell what his forefathers had been. The graceful spire of a church adorns one side of the square. A medical school is established here, and one of the professors, known to me by correspondence, was politely attentive to us. He gives two lectures a-day, and finishes his course in eight weeks.

Oct. 3. *Peru.*—This morning, at eight o'clock, we left Pittsfield in the midst of a heavy rain, the thermometer standing at 56°. The road ascended for eight miles, until we arrived at *Peru*, on the summit of the Peru mountains. The scenery was much less interesting than that which we enjoyed yesterday. The soil is a light and sandy clay, with numerous rocks and stones protruding above the surface. Large tracts of the primitive forest remain uncleared, and innumerable stumps stand in the fields, indicating that the axe of the settler is here busily at work.

In New England two causes of bad health have been avoided in the villages. The houses are not crowded together, but most of them stand apart, and the width of the streets is ample; the burying-grounds, also, are not beside the churches, but at soli-

tary spots along the sides of the highway. They are rudely enclosed, and present a melancholy spectacle of pale white tombstones standing forth alone on the bosom of a wild and stony country.

*Causes of Bad Roads.*—We dined at Worthington, a very small village twenty-one miles from Pittsfield, and as the day has been wet, and the road bad, the drive has been dreary. On talking with a gentleman whom we met about the bad state of the roads, he remarked, “that they, like every thing else in this country, are under the direct control of the people. The people are chiefly farmers who own their own land, and they have a great aversion to part with their money for any object which is not calculated to give them individually a return of profit.” “But,” said I, “good roads would benefit them all by raising the value of their property.” “In winter,” replied he, “the roads are covered with snow, and sleighing is then good; in summer they are dry and hard; it is only in spring and the fall that they are soft and bad. The farmers find the summer and winter the most convenient seasons for transporting their produce to market; and, besides, they can sell the most of their crops at their own doors, or at the nearest villages, and care very little for the means of transportation.” “There is still much ground to be cleared here,” said I. “Yes, sir, a great deal, and I think that the farmers would do better to cultivate more perfectly what they have cleared, than to proceed as they do. No man thinks himself a farmer here unless he owns 800 acres.<sup>(a)</sup> He must be able to pasture as well as to sow; and as soon as he cuts and burns the trees, he can put cattle and sheep on the ground without any cultivation.”

*Chesterfield.*—The next village was Chesterfield, nine miles distant from Worthington. It stands on the summit of the hill, which forms the west boundary of the valley of the Connecticut River, above Northampton, and the view from it is extensive and glorious. We stopped only to give water to the horses, and our bold coachman rattled down a precipitous road of thirteen miles, and set us safely down at the Mansion-house hotel in Northampton at half past five o’clock, having travelled forty-three miles over a hilly country and bad roads since eight o’clock in the morning, with a halt of only one hour and twenty minutes at Worthington. Masses of loose earth, from eight to twelve inches deep, are placed across the road at intervals, in the deepest declivities. They serve to arrest the too precipitous

(a) There was some mistake in this conversation. There is scarcely a farmer in Massachusetts who owns 800 acres; 100 or at farthest 200 acres are considered a medium farm; and in some parts of the state a large one.

progress of descending vehicles, and afford resting stations to those which ascend. Our post-boy drove so rapidly down hill, that at each of these mounds he was nearly shaken from the box, while we felt as if again tossed in the Great Western.

We passed several portions of the forest only recently cleared; many fine old trees were lying rotting in the sun, while some were standing huge, tall, and gaunt, bearing the marks of fire which had been applied in vain to consume their stubborn strength. Apple-trees every where abound, and are loaded with that superior fruit which is imported into England, excelling in the richness of flavor the best produce of the British orchards. It is so abundant, and grows so completely exposed on the road side, that the way-faring traveller may supply himself at this season without purchase, and with scarcely an infraction of justice, as it seems, by its situation, to be presented to his use.

Oct. 4. We have found the Mansion-house hotel at Northampton excellent, and resolved to stop here a day and enjoy the beauty of the scenery, which is justly celebrated. This morning is bright and clear, but the thermometer has fallen to  $45^{\circ}$  in the air just before sunrise.

*American Servants.*—We have found the servants and landlords in the inns of New England cold and reserved in their manners. There is no greeting of welcome on arriving, and no thanking you and wishing you good-bye at leaving a hotel. The servants speak, move, and look like pieces of animated mechanism. At the public tables nearly universal silence reigns, broken only by the clattering of knives and forks. When one asks a question, a brief but clear answer is given, and the conversation goes no farther. The tones of the voice are solemn, and indicate self-esteem more active than love of approbation. No one asked us any questions, and no one volunteered to communicate any information to us as strangers, all which was different from what we expected. The busy season, however, is past, and probably we saw the people in the first state of mental collapse after months of great fatigue and excitement. They were, however, essentially amiable. All our reasonable wishes were gratified, although formally and solemnly; all our questions were civilly answered, although in the fewest words; and from what we saw at Albany, as well as from what we have since experienced, I am satisfied that in case of sickness or distress we should have experienced the kindest and most unwearied attention. The early settlers of New England were religious men who fled from persecution; and their characters and conduct indicate powerful religious sentiments, with great self-esteem and firmness, which produce the love of independence and hatred of

power when harshly wielded by other men. Judging from the manners and natural language of their posterity, those qualities seem to have descended to the present generation.

Here, and about New Lebanon, the farmers are attempting to raise Swedish turnips, and great advantage is said to result from the practice.

Northampton was settled in 1654. It lies a mile and a half west of the Connecticut River, and is surrounded by highly picturesque hills. It contains 3613 inhabitants, and consists of only one street of continuous houses, chiefly occupied as stores or shops, and a great many tasteful single houses, standing in the midst of grass and garden grounds. Some of the houses are large and elegant, indicating taste and affluence in their possessors. "Round Hill" is a gentle eminence, which rises in the centre of the village. It is regular in its form, and the summit bears a lovely grove. On the slope next the village a number of handsome residences look down on the Connecticut valley, and in front of them, at a few miles distance, stands Mount Holyoke, clothed with trees to the summit, and at this season a perfect gem of beauty. The Farmington Canal runs from the village to New Haven, on Long Island Sound, distant eighty miles, and canal boats, of a commodious form, run daily. They travel night and day, take twenty hours to the voyage, and have beds.

*Mount Holyoke.*—We ascended Mount Holyoke, which rises to the height of 830 feet, and from its summit enjoyed a prospect of the noblest scenery. Towards the south, the rich valley of the Connecticut stretched to the verge of the horizon. The river gleamed from point to point, as its winding turns brought it within the line of the solar rays, while around, to the north and west, hills, rich in their autumnal livery, closed in the scene. The ascent to the summit is little more than a mile in length, from the left bank of the river, and is attended with little difficulty. A road had been made for carriages to within a quarter of a mile of the top, but, owing to the misconduct of visitors, the proprietor has shut it up, by felling a large tree, and causing it to fall across the way. Two sheds have been erected at the point where the best view is obtained, in which refreshments are sold during the summer months to the crowds of visitors who come to enjoy this lovely spot. The prospect reminded us of that from Moncrieff Hill in Perthshire; but that from Mount Holyoke is in some points the superior of the two. We crossed the river in a boat, the construction of which presented some features that were new to me. It was impelled by two horses, one on each side of the boat. Each horse pulled at a bar fixed by chains to two immovable posts, rising from the

hull of the boat; and by the pressure of his feet, caused a wooden circular frame, which served him for a road, to revolve in the direction opposite to that in which he walked. He must have appeared to himself to be pulling and walking in his usual manner ashore, but instead of the ground serving as a fulcrum to enable him to drag forward his load, the fixed bar at which he pulled presented a resisting body that enabled him to push the road backward from under his feet. The pathway, in its revolutions, turned a paddle-wheel at each side. We afterwards saw numbers of these boats in the United States. On the deck the horses occupy only the space on which they stand, and all the machinery is below.

“*The Rev. Jonathan Edwards* continued in Northampton more than twenty-three years, till he was dismissed in 1750. The causes which led to his dismissal were his endeavors to enforce what he considered to be his duty in regard to the discipline of the church, and likewise the opposition he made to the sentiment supported by his colleague and grandfather, the Rev. Mr. Stoddart, that unconverted persons ought to be allowed to come the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. It 1751, he was settled at Stockbridge as missionary to the Indians, where he continued six years, preaching to the Indians and white people. Here he found leisure to prosecute his theological and metaphysical studies, and produced those works which will probably hand down his name to the latest posterity. In January, 1758, he reluctantly accepted the presidency of the College at Princeton, New Jersey. The small-pox prevailing, President Edwards was induced to be inoculated, which was the cause of his death, March 22, 1758, in the 55th year of his age.”\*

The work of Jonathan Edwards on the Will, was one which deeply engaged my attention in early youth, and I was anxious to obtain an engraving of him, but found it difficult to succeed. At last a kind friend presented me with one, which has few merits as a work of art; but it shows that ample endowment of the organs of Comparison and Causality, which are found in concomitance with profound metaphysical talent.

*Cause of Taciturnity at the Public Tables.*—In conversation to-day, the following statements were made to us. As they interested us at the time, I present them to the reader. “One cause,” we were told, “of the taciturnity which we have remarked at the public tables in New England, is the fear of inferior people intruding themselves and fixing an acquaintance-ship on persons of superior condition and attainments. All per-

\* Barber’s Historical Collections of Massachusetts, p. 332. Worcester, 1839.

sons are pushing upwards in this country, and as there is no artificial rank, every one guards his own station with extraordinary jealousy." (a)

The absence of artificial rank does not satisfactorily explain these peculiarities. In England artificial rank abounds, and yet the same jealousy of intrusion is there equally conspicuous. In Germany there is also artificial rank, while the intercourse between the different classes of society is much more cordial and unrestrained. The real cause seems to me to lie in the cerebral organisation of the people. The English are remarkable for the large development of the organ of Self-Esteem, which, when not directed by high moral and intellectual qualities, engenders pride and exclusiveness. The New Englanders inherit the organisation and its effects from their forefathers. Their republican institutions have not altered their nature. Self-Esteem is not so predominant in the Teutonic brain.

*Banks of Issue, and mania for Speculation.*—Our friend continued to say, that after General Jackson refused to sanction the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, and distributed large sums of the accumulated public revenue on deposit-accounts, among the different banks of the Union, without any efficient machinery for controlling the operations of the banks by a prompt exchange of their paper, the issue of bank notes all over the Union became excessive, and new banks sprang up almost in every village, and sent paper afloat. The Americans, are, at all times, highly speculative, but this supply of currency rendered them nearly mad. Manhattan Island, fifteen miles long, and from one to three broad, on which New York was built, was all surveyed, delineated on a plan, and divided into lots. In 1836, these lots, among innumerable other objects, became subjects of speculation. They were bought and sold, and re-sold, again and again, always rising in price, till people thought they could never have enough of them. If two persons were seen conversing in the street in New York, and you had approached them, in nineteen instances out of twenty, you would have overheard "lots," and "thousands of dollars," as the sole topics of their discourse. Very general bankruptcy followed this mania.

This description, which I subsequently ascertained to be correct, forcibly reminded me of the almost insane excitement of the propensity for wealth which afflicted Britain in 1824 and 1825. In Edinburgh, a city little engaged in trade or speculation, joint-stock companies were created by the hour, and for-

(a) The only cause of taciturnity at our public tables, is the haste with which the meals are eaten, and the consequent lack of time for conversation.

tunes were supposed to have been made in a day by buying and selling the shares of their stock. Lots of ground were bought at prices, or "feued" for payment of ground-rents, of the most extravagant amount; as if the world were suddenly become too small to contain the cities which were about to be reared. Upwards of 340,000*l.* were invested in new houses in Edinburgh in one year, and universal prosperity was supposed to have at length descended on a happy land. But in 1826, the bubble burst, and, up to this hour, the Scottish capital has scarcely recovered from the losses and misery which these wild schemes engendered. In England, the mania was as severely felt. If the cautious Scots could go so far wrong, we may condemn and lament the infatuation of the Americans, but, unfortunately, we are not pure enough to throw the first stone.

Friday, 5th Oct.—Thermometer 58° at half-past 7 A. M.

*Road to Worcester.*—This morning is still beautifully fine, and agreeably warm. We started at half-past 8, and crossed the Connecticut on a long and handsome wooden bridge, completely inclosed on the sides and covered on the top, like the bridges in Switzerland. This is the only well-finished bridge which we have seen.\* All the others which we have passed over, have been temporary-looking erections, consisting of beams stretching across the river from pier to pier, or from post to post, with deals laid loosely across them, starting and clattering under the wheels and the horses' feet, and without ledges.

We stopped at Ware, a thriving village containing two cotton and two woollen manufactories, the machinery of which is driven by water. The intermediate country is undulating and picturesque, but the soil is poor, in some places wet, and generally rocky and covered with large loose stones. A few fields of young wheat look fresh and healthy. We arrived at one o'clock, and found that dinner at the public table had been served at twelve, and was long since finished. Dinner was served to us in a private parlor without difficulty or delay.

After dinner we proceeded on our journey, and at 4 P. M. arrived at Brookfield, where we found an excellent inn. Half a mile south of the village, we saw workmen employed in constructing a railroad to run between Worcester and Springfield, part of the great line which is destined to connect Albany with Boston. The rapid progress of railways in the United States

\* I regretted to observe that it was greatly injured, and part of it carried off by the ice in the spring of 1840. There was a large bend in the river commencing immediately below the bridge, and many efforts had been made to get a cut made across an isthmus, to save four miles of river navigation! This flood excavated a channel through the neck of land, and accomplished the object in one night.



was mentioned to us as one reason of the neglect of common roads. The people expect the latter to be soon superseded by the former on the great thoroughfares through the Union.

The people of the village had long been Calvinists, but, about six years ago, part of them became Unitarians; and a new church was built. Both congregations were small, for there is also a Baptist meeting-house in the village. The separation was attended with great animosity among the people at the time of its occurrence, but the angry passions have now subsided, and the usual intercourse of good will is re-established among them. The law acknowledges no superiority in one sect over another, and hence the disputes that occur are merely natural ebullitions of the mind, which subside with their causes: The institutions of the country furnish no artificial fuel to give permanence to their existence.

*Abolition of Negro Slavery* excites much interest among the New Englanders. We heard the dispositions of the various religious sects, throughout the Union, towards abolition, earnestly discussed at table, and much anxiety expressed about the votes of the native Irish who have become citizens, in a particular district. Means had been used to secure the influence of their leaders; for here, as at home, they are tutored and led by their most talented and enterprising brethren.

Saturday, 6th Oct.—We set off this morning at 8 o'clock, and, after a pleasant drive, arrived at Worcester, from which there is a railroad to Boston. We have passed through several villages containing woollen manufactories, situated on the banks of a small stream in a country like that in which Stroud stands in the west of England. To-day, we have met with many wagons conveying goods to and from these manufactories; so that the resemblance between Old and New England is increasing as we proceed; but still the contrast in the condition of the laboring people is greatly to the advantage of America.

Our coachman left us at Worcester, and demanded no fees nor compensation of any kind. He was a young man, active, intelligent, and obliging, without obsequiousness, pretensions, or plausibilities. I may say the same of all the servants in the inns.

*Worcester* is a beautiful and thriving village, containing 7117 inhabitants. The surface of the country around it is undulating, and affords many delightful prospects. A gentle eminence rising to the west of the main street is studded with handsome wooden residences painted white, and shining in all the purity of virgin snow, from among trees, and shrubs, and flowers.

*State Lunatic Hospital.*—We presented letters of introduction to Dr. Samuel B. Woodward, Superintendent and Physician

to the Lunatic Asylum. This monument of charity of the state of Massachusetts is situated on a beautiful eminence eastward of the town. The buildings of the west front, erected in 1831, consist of a centre, 76 feet long, 40 wide, and four stories high, projecting 22 feet forward of the wings. These extend to the north and south 90 feet each on the front, and 100 feet in the rear, and are 36 feet wide, and three stories high. This arrangement was adopted to secure free communication with the central structure, occupied by the superintendant, steward, attendants, and domestics, and to permit the ventilation and lighting of the long halls, or corridors, extending through the wings. The apartments for the insane, 8 feet by 10, have each a window, with the upper sash of cast-iron and lower of wood, both glazed; on the exterior of the wooden sash is a false sash of iron, corresponding to it in its appearance and dimensions, but firmly set into the frame of the window, giving the reality of a grating without its gloomy aspect. In 1835, a building 134 feet in length, and 34 feet in width, was attached to the southern extremity of the hospital, of equal height, and extending eastward at right angles with the front; in 1836, another edifice of the same magnitude was erected at the north end. Three sides of a great square are now enclosed by these extensive structures of brick.\*

The grants by the state for erecting the asylum were the following:—

|                 |  |   |   |   |   |          |
|-----------------|--|---|---|---|---|----------|
| 1830. March 20. | There was granted                          | - | - | - | - | \$30,000 |
| 1832. March 24. | Ditto,                                     | - | - | - | - | 20,000   |
| 1835. April 7.  | Ditto,                                     | - | - | - | - | 25,000   |
| — — —           | Ditto for a chapel,                        | - | - | - | - | 3,000    |
| — — —           | Ditto for the purchase of additional land, | - | - | - | - | 7,000    |

Total, \$85,000

The hospital was opened on the 12th January, 1833, and has since been admirably managed, and the treatment of the patients attended with great success.

This structure combines the improvements which have recently been introduced into hospitals for the insane. It commands a cheerful and even beautiful prospect, from every window occupied by the patients. The ventilation and heating of the rooms are accomplished by warm air introduced into the galleries, and from them into each cell, by means of an oblong opening above the door. The pipes conveying hot air open near the ceilings of the galleries, and some advantages attend this arrangement. If the pipe opens at the floor, the stream of warm air does not diffuse itself over the apartment, as is generally supposed, but

\* Barber's Massachusetts, p. 622.

ascends in a direct column to the ceiling, and is only there broken and dispersed. It descends only after it has filled the upper spaces of the galleries. By introducing it at once at the top, these spaces are filled before much of the heat has been lost, and a warmer air descends, and enters the several rooms by the apertures above the doors. In the wall of each room is an opening about five inches square, into an air-chimney, calculated to maintain a constant circulation. These air-chimneys open into a vast garret, directly under the roof of the building, which contains numerous windows for letting off the noxious air into the atmosphere. This arrangement is attended by one considerable advantage. When the air-chimneys open directly into the external atmosphere, their action is violently affected by the state of the wind; and in cold weather, they bring down cold instead of carrying up heated and exhausted air. When they open into the garret, they are altogether protected from the wind; and by opening fewer or a greater number of the garret windows in winter, effectual security is obtained against the descent of cold air. Dr. Woodward assured me that these chimnies are effectual; that in the morning, the rooms are pure to the senses, while the garret furnishes abundant evidence that it has received the effluvia of the night.

At the ends of the galleries, there are two large corner apartments, two sides of each of which are composed entirely of cast-iron sashes, one for the women with the interstices glazed; the other for the men, without glass. The object of these is to afford air and exercise to the patients in severe weather, when they cannot go abroad, or when their state of health renders complete exposure inexpedient. There is abundance of ground attached to the hospital, in which the patients labor, and there is a chapel in which divine worship is performed every Sunday. A neat carriage, drawn by two horses, belongs to the establishment, and is constantly employed in carrying the patients on little excursions into the country to amuse them. The purity and order of the apartments are complete.

Dr. Woodward, physically and mentally, is admirably adapted for his situation. He is in the prime of life, and has large limbs, a large abdomen, large lungs, and a large head. His temperament is sanguine nervous-bilious, with a little of the lymphatic. The organs of the propensities are well developed, but those of the moral sentiments and intellect decidedly predominate. This combination produces a powerful and commanding person, characterised at once by vivacity, energy, and softness; and a mind in which intellectual power is chastened by the most kind and cheerful moral dispositions. I regard these qualities as of great importance in the superintendant of a Lunatic Asylum. If that

well-spring of spontaneous vivacity which accompanies large lungs and a large brain be wanting, the individual will be more apt to sink under the depressing influence which the diseased minds of his patients will exert over his own, than to excite their faculties to more healthy and agreeable action. If he be deficient in the moral organs of the brain, he will want sympathy, softness of expression, and justness of feeling; while if he be deficient in the reflecting intellectual organs, he will want sagacity to trace effects to their causes, and to discriminate character; or if the deficiency be in the observing organs, he will lack the power of attention to incidents and details. At a subsequent time I shall revert to the management of this hospital; remarking at present, that it is a noble monument of enlightened philanthropy and of excellent administration.

*Railroad to Boston.*—At 4 P. M., we left Worcester by the railroad for Boston. The car in which we travelled held twenty-six persons. It was comfortable, and our journey would have been agreeable, except for the annoyance of constant showers of tobacco saliva squirted on the floor at our feet.\*

*Negro Slavery.*—We heard the question of slavery again discussed in the car, by a person who had himself been an overseer of slaves in the south, and another who was a manufacturer in New England. They both agreed that slavery is a great evil, and that it should be abolished. The former said that it was a trying thing for the temper to manage a gang of slaves; that they made the overseer cross and ill-tempered with every one; that this led to the infliction of punishment on them, which only made them worse; and that many murders are committed by them in revenge on white men, which are never known beyond the locality in which they occur, unless some white person from the free states happen to be on the spot, and report the incidents when he goes home.(a)

The railroad from Worcester to Boston consists of a single track of rails, and the trains are arranged so as to pass each other at stations, where a portion of a double track is laid for the purpose. It runs in part on a line with the great railway between Boston

\* We were shocked at this uncleanly practice when it was new to us, and the experience of twenty months never abated the disagreeable feelings which it excited. In travelling in the public conveyances, and in most of the hotels, it was a never-ceasing source of discomfort. It is only justice to the Americans, however, to observe, that, in this abominable habit, they are kept in countenance by the Germans and the French, who, in their own country, commit the same nuisance, although England is happily free from it.

(a) This is a slur on the newspapers, which their conductors, ever greedy of news for the people, who are ever ready to read it, will tell us is incorrect.

and Albany. The state of Massachusetts has taken shares in the latter to the amount of \$2,000,000, and the remainder of the funds is subscribed by private individuals. The state's share of the money is borrowed on state bonds, chiefly in England, and the interest is paid out of the revenue.

*Tax on Bank capital.*—One source of revenue in this state is a tax of one per cent. on all bank capital. Great difference of opinion is entertained as to the policy of this tax. Some persons say, that, from its productiveness, it tempts the state to charter too many banks; others affirm, that the tax is so severely felt by the banks, that it forces them to engage in hazardous speculations to pay it, and, at the same time, to realise a dividend equal to the average rate of profit in the state, and hence to endanger their stability; while other persons assure us, that, by diminishing their profits, it renders the banks cautious, and leads them to avoid rash enterprises and engagements; and that, altogether, it exerts a salutary influence over their transactions. One thing is certain, that the Massachusetts banks are the most stable in the Union; but it does not necessarily follow that the tax is the cause of their high character. We arrived at Boston at 7 P. M.

Sunday, Oct. 7, *Boston.*—Thermometer, at sunrise, 58°. This morning it rained heavily. We went to the Baptist Chapel, and heard Dr. ——— preach a sermon on the nature of regeneration. He brought out his ideas with extraordinary clearness and precision; and although much that he taught was at variance with facts established by the physiology of the brain, it was impossible not to admire the talents of the preacher. Mrs. Trollope and Mrs. Butler have both adverted to the American custom of gentlemen sitting with their feet elevated. In the pew before us in church to day, a gentleman sat with his feet on the top of the board which holds the psalm books. It was not a desk near the top of the seat as in Scotland, but a receptacle for books about two-thirds up the front of the pew.

Oct. 8. *The Custom House.*—This morning I went to the custom-house to procure five large packages of skulls, casts, and drawings, which I had shipped from the Clyde on the 15th of August. They had just arrived. Mr. Capen, of the firm of Messrs. Marsh, Capen, Lyon & Webb, from whom I received many civilities, introduced me to George Bancroft, Esq., the collector, and I enumerated to him the contents of the boxes. He said that by law they are entitled to be landed free of duty, as articles of science, and orders were given accordingly. I mention this circumstance because the law is liberal, and in itself obviously advantageous to the United States, and because

I have seen such articles adverted to, in works on America, as if the duty had been dispensed with as a special act of favor, or of honor conferred on the individual traveller. Nothing could exceed the civility of all the official persons through whose departments the necessary entries were made. While the details of the entries were in progress, Mr. Bancroft entered into conversation with me on the philosophy of Kant, Locke, and Dugald Stewart, and pointed out the coincidence between some of the categories of Kant, and the faculties admitted by phrenologists. He quoted Locke with such readiness, that one might have supposed him to be a professor of metaphysics. He is the author of what is generally acknowledged to be the best history of the United States. During our conversation, subordinate officers were frequently entering for instructions, or for his signature to documents. He attended to them with great urbanity of manner, and then resumed the conversation, as if business and abstract philosophy were equally agreeable to his taste, and equally within the range of his faculties. He is a powerful supporter of the democratic party, and received his appointment a few months ago from Mr. Van Buren.

*The Institution for the Blind.*—We attended the half-yearly examination of the blind in their institution in Pearl Street, and were much gratified by their appearance and performances. The large house which they occupy was a gift from T. H. Perkins, Esq., who still lives to witness the benefits flowing from his bounty. The institution was chartered in 1829, opened in September, 1832, and is vested in trustees. It is supported chiefly by appropriations from the state. It is managed by Dr. Samuel George Howe, in a manner that commands at once the love and respect of the pupils, and the high approbation of the public. This gentleman, impelled by youthful enthusiasm and a generous love of the oppressed, went as a volunteer medical officer to aid the Greeks, at the time when Lord Byron joined their cause. Dr. Howe passed several years in their service, and published a very interesting account of their affairs. The romance of youth has left him, while the glowing philanthropy which first directed his steps to Greece, burns with undiminished vivacity, and he now expends the energies of a powerful and cultivated mind in teaching, training, and administering to the happiness of the blind.

The pupils showed great intelligence in reading, both in English and French, and some of them in the simpler elements of mathematics. The elder scholars defined, with promptitude and accuracy, many abstract terms relating to mind and general science, such as attention, abstraction, perception, genus, species,

variety, &c. They have a full band of musical instruments, on which their performances were of a superior character. The delight of the little boys in using the drum and triangles at intervals, were strongly depicted on their countenances, while a pleasing excitement evidently pervaded both performers and auditors.

They have printed in this institution several books for the blind, and Dr. Howe exhibited specimens of their typography. The forms of the letters are slightly triangular, and differ little from those of the common alphabet. Dr. Howe mentioned that neither highly raised letters, nor very peculiar forms, are necessary. He had discovered that only the tops of the highly raised letters are soiled by the fingers, a proof that the touch is light. Experience has shown that a *variety* of type is as easily mastered by the finger as by the eye. Persons who see soon learn to read with equal facility printed works in roman, italic, and capital letters; even the German type presents few difficulties, after the first three lessons, to foreigners who study that language. The same faculties of the mind which take cognizance of the forms of the letters through the eye, recognise them through the medium of touch. The chief difference between the two senses is, that the eye receives an impression through the medium of light, without contact with the object, while this is indispensable to the operation of the other sense. This fact supersedes much of the importance which persons who see have attached to the invention of peculiar forms of letters for the use of the blind.

Dr. Howe has presented his pupils with books printed in all the varieties of form which he could procure, and they have learned to read them with ease. This has led to a very obvious and beneficial proposal on the part of the trustees of this institution to the managers of all other asylums for the blind, namely, that they should cease to reprint each of them the same books, which to some extent they have hitherto done, and also to dispute about the superiority of the forms of their letters; that they should circulate among each other, lists of all their printed works, and that each should give previous notice before it commences printing a new book; that they should, as much as possible, each of them print different books, and then exchange their works. The advantages of this mode of proceeding would be an increase in the number and variety of books which each institution would possess; a saving of expense; and an augmentation not only of instruction, but of pleasure to the blind in reading, arising from the very variety of type which would be presented to them. Dr. Howe mentioned that his proposal has met with little encouragement from other institutions, which is much to be regretted; and I hope that if these remarks shall be perused by any of the

directors of institutions for the blind, they will give them due consideration.\*

Madame Caradori Allan and Mr. James Silk Buckingham, were both present at the examination; and at its close the former sang several songs, which greatly gratified the pupils. I saw tears dropping from the eyes of several of them, touched by the melody and pathos of her notes.

Oct. 9. Thermometer 37°—*Education—A Common School Convention.*—This morning the air has felt very cold, but the weather continues clear and dry. Winter-cloaks and great-coats are appearing. We proceeded this afternoon by railway to Taunton, a village of 6045 inhabitants, to attend a common school convention. The Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary to the Board of Education for the State, and his Excellency Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts, invited us to take places in the car with them. We arrived at 5 P. M. Next morning we walked through the village, which is handsome, but a portion of it lay in ruins, having been burnt to the ground sixteen days before.

Oct. 10.—We went to the Unitarian church, a large, elegant stone-building, at 10 o'clock A. M., when, in American phraseology, the meeting was "called to order" by the appointment of a chairman. Persons of both sexes, and of all the religious deno-

\* The following is a list of the books printed by this institution, with the prices at which they are sold to those who can purchase; to the indigent, most of the works are gratuitously distributed.

|   |   |   |   |         |
|---|---|---|---|---------|
| New Testament, complete, 2 vols. or 4 vols.   | - | - | - | \$12 00 |
| The Psalms of the Old Testament, 1 vol.   | - | - | - | 3 00    |
| Outlines of History, Ancient and Modern, 3 vols.  | - | - | - | 10 00   |
| Dairyman's Daughter,  | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| The Harvey Boys,  | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| Spelling Book,  | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| English Grammar,  | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| The Pilgrim's Progress,   | - | - | - | 2 00    |
| Baxter's Call,  | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| Sixpenny Glass of Wine,   | - | - | - | 50      |
| Life of Melancthon,   | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| Book of Sacred Hymns,   | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| Howe's Geography, 1 vol.  | - | - | - | 2 00    |
| "    Blind Child's First Book,  | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| "    Blind Child's Second Book,   | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| "    General Atlas,   | - | - | - | 3 00    |
| "    Atlas of the United States,  | - | - | - | 2 00    |
| "    Book of Diagrams, illustrative of Natural Philosophy,  | - | - | - | 1 00    |
| "    English Reader: Selections in prose and verse, from English<br>and American authors, Part I. | - | - | - | 2 00    |
| "    English Reader, Part II.   | - | - | - | 2 00    |
| "    Atlas of the principal Islands on the Globe, with Statistical<br>Tables,                     | - | - | - |         |



minations of the village and neighborhood, attended. A prayer was offered up, some routine business transacted, and then Mr. Mann, in his official capacity of Secretary to the Board, read an address to the people, showing the necessity of education for improving the human mind, and its nature and objects. The delivery of the address occupied an hour and a half, and I never listened to a more sound, philosophical comprehensive, practical, eloquent, and felicitous composition. It was heard with profound attention by a numerous audience; but no expression of approbation was given, the custom of this country being to receive in silence all grave discourses, without testifying either approval or disapproval. At a quarter before one o'clock, the meeting adjourned. The Rev. Andrew Bigelow invited us to dine at his house with the governor, his "aid" Colonel Clifford, and a number of clergymen, and we were sumptuously entertained.

At 2 P. M. the meeting resumed business, and we heard the governor deliver an address in seconding a resolution in support of the cause of education. His speech was distinguished for excellence, equally in matter and manner. His style is rich, yet classical and chaste, his action is graceful, and his utterance fluent. He placed the question of education on its true basis. The constitution of the state, he said, called on the people to judge of the most momentous questions, affecting their own welfare and that of posterity; such as the currency, the powers which shall be wielded by every officer of the state, and the connection of this state with all the other states of the Union: it entrusted them, as jurymen, with the lives and property of their fellow-citizens; it gave them the election of the individuals who should exercise legislative authority over them, and it imposed on them a variety of important duties affecting the well-being of their own locality; the due performance of all of which offices was incompatible with ignorance. It put arms into every man's hands, and entrusted to him the defence of his own and his country's rights; and the alliance between arms and ignorance was terrific. He touched with great felicity, and with powerful effect, on a variety of other topics, urging the people to second the efforts of the state, and the teachers, to improve the education of the district.

This meeting afforded me high gratification. Mr. Everett is the chief magistrate of a state which would constitute a respectable German kingdom. He travelled with the people and entered the church as one of the people; he had no insignia of office, and his "aid" was not distinguishable in the crowd. He addressed the people as one of themselves, but all speedily felt, that he possessed that real superiority which knowledge, morali-

ty, and intellectual power, when directed to a noble end, never fail to confer; and he was treated with marked courtesy and respect.\* It is scarcely necessary to add, that the audience, although composed of persons in every variety of pecuniary circumstances, appeared, to the eye of a stranger, nearly all equal; they were well dressed, and none ostentatiously attired.

From the earliest settlement of this state, great attention has been bestowed on education. In the *Massachusetts Colony Laws*, 1646, chap. viii, § 13, it is enacted, "that if any child or children above sixteen years old, and of sufficient understanding, shall curse or smite their natural father, he or they shall be put to death, *unless it can be sufficiently testified, that the parents have been very unchristianly negligent in the education of such children.*"

This enactment was obviously dictated by the Mosaic law, which declares the acts of cursing and smiting a parent to be punishable with death, but which omits the qualification that proof of a neglected education shall be received as a valid defence against the charge. The modern legislators of the commonwealth have wisely repealed this and many other barbarous and bloody laws for punishing offences, and have adopted the more Christian and the more effectual method of endeavoring to prevent crimes by the universal instruction of the people. The leading provisions of the law on the subject of education are given in the Appendix, No. I, to this volume, and they are well worthy of perusal.

*Constitution of the Board of Education.*—By the act of 20th April, 1837, the power of nominating the Board of Education, consisting of eight persons, was committed to the governor and his council. The governor, Mr. Everett, and his council were all whigs, and the governor, moreover, was a unitarian. How did they exercise the discretionary power intrusted to them? They selected men distinguished for philanthropy and talent, from the different sections of the state, living nearly equidistant from each other, and, as nearly as possible, representing equal portions of territory and population. "They were not selected from one political party, or denomination, but from both political parties (whigs and democrats), and from all the leading religious denominations in the state!" (*Common School Journal*, vol. ii, p. 70.)

The Board of Education possesses no power to control the schools, or to interfere with their management; this is left in

\* Mr. Everett is the gentleman whose eloquence is so disparagingly spoken of by Miss Martineau. With every respect for her judgment, I differ widely from her in her estimate of his taste, his powers, and his attainments.

the hands of the people themselves. The duty of the board is, to collect and diffuse information, to suggest, to advise, and to assist, and thus to enable the schools to improve themselves. In short, they are authorised to exercise a moral and intellectual influence over the people and their schools, but to wield no other power.

The efficacy of such a Board, must in a great degree, depend on the character of their Secretary; for where the members live at so great a distance from each other, unity of action must be communicated to it chiefly by him. The individual appointed to this important office, was the Honorable Horace Mann. He had practised for a considerable period of time as a lawyer, at the bar of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and with such success that, after rising through various grades of public office, he was elected President of the Senate, over which he presided for two years. The Senate holds the same rank in the Legislature of the state that the House of Lords does in England, and performs essentially the same functions. Such was his legal reputation also, that, on 3d November, 1835, he and the Honorable Theron Metcalf were appointed Commissioners by the Legislature, with directions personally to superintend the revision and codification of the laws of the state which appeared in 1836. The whole statute-law is thus revised; all statutes that had been repealed are omitted; all that have been altered or amended, are reprinted in their improved form; while all inconsistent enactments are repealed or altered into harmony with the rest. The whole statutes thus revised are enacted anew, and form a code of laws. The discharge of such a duty requires extensive legal knowledge; great powers of discrimination; a capacity for details, joined with a talent for generalisation; and the whole crowned by habits of indefatigable industry. Such was the Honorable Horace Mann when he was elected Secretary to the Board of Education, and he at once directed all the energies and attainments of his powerful and experienced mind to the improvement of the education of his native state.

*Common School Libraries.*—The state having made provision for the formation of libraries for the schools, the Board of Education early projected the preparation of a library of books suitable for children and youth. “The plan contemplated two series, of fifty volumes of each; one, of the 18mo size, adapted for children, the other, of the duodecimo size, intended for youth. The Board proceeded to make proposals to various publishers, to undertake the work. The leading propositions were, that the enterprise should be undertaken wholly at the publisher’s risk, neither the Board nor the state having any pecuniary interest in it; that the work should be executed ac-

ording to sample; that it should be offered to all the public schools in Massachusetts, who might wish to purchase, at a sum never to exceed the stipulated amount; that the whole should be executed in the most durable and workmanlike manner, and in such style, as to type, paper, binding, &c., as the Board should direct; that no work should be included in the series, which had not received the unanimous approval of the Board; and that, on their part, in consideration of such undertaking, the Board would examine a sufficient number of works to complete the proposed series, and give to the publishers whatever benefit they could derive from an announcement to the public, that the work had the unanimous sanction or approbation of their body. The Board were to decide upon the books, as a jury decide upon a cause in court, each member having a veto upon all the rest.

“The firm of Messrs. Marsh, Capen & Lyon (to which the name of Dr. Webb has since been added,) tendered propositions, very much more favorable than any received from any other quarter, and an arrangement was forthwith concluded with them.”

On a careful and thorough examination, it was soon found, that there were very few books extant, suitable in all respects for children. Measures were adopted for the improvement of existing books, and for the preparation of new ones. For these purposes, the publishers obtained the services of the most popular and talented authors in the country, either to edit existing works, or to prepare new ones. “The most eminent literary men have been, or now are, engaged in the execution of the plan. The names of Washington Irving, Dr. Wayland, the two Everetts, Greenwood, Bigelow, Rantoul, Silliman, Judge Story, Professors Lieber, Potter, Stowe, Edwards, Olmsted, Alden, Tucker, Judge Porter, &c. &c., are a pledge to the public, that nothing has been omitted, which can give the value of adaptation and fitness to the series. It is not too much to say, that no work has ever issued from the press in this country, to the preparation of which, one half so much knowledge and ability has been devoted.” (*Common School Journal*.)

The grand objection to the formation of a library for schools was the want of some sufficient guard or security against the introduction of partisan or sectarian books. The revised statutes declare, “that the school committee shall never direct to be purchased or used, in any of the town schools, any school-books which are calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect of Christians.” The Scriptures were used in almost all the schools, either as a devotional or as a reading-book; but there was a great want of religious works expository of the

doctrines of revealed religion, and "also free from such advocacy of the 'tenets' of particular sects of Christians, as brought them within the scope of the legal prohibition." "This difficulty has been directly met, and entirely removed. Not enough of it is left, to serve as a pretence for sophistry." "There is not a man belonging to either of the great political or religious portions, into which the community is unhappily divided, but will find, in the list of names of the members of the Board of Education, a watchful sentinel, to guard his social and spiritual rights against aggression. Suppose I am a member of the Calvinistic or orthodox congregational denomination, and I deem it a paramount duty to avert from the eyes and the ears of my children, the peculiar views of the Baptists, Unitarians, or Universalists, I see in the list, the name of the Rev. Emerson Davis, of Westfield—an orthodox Congregational clergyman, known to his brethren throughout the state, as a man of sound judgment, of excellent feelings, of firm and undoubted steadfastness of faith. Further down, in the list, I see the name of the Rev. Dr. Robbins of Rochester, a venerable gentleman and most learned scholar, who, for more than a quarter of a century has been the pastor of an orthodox church and society, and upon whose soundness in the faith, no suspicion has ever been cast. Without mentioning any other names, or making further inquiry, can I ask for any higher assurance, that the books examined and sanctioned by these gentlemen, will be found to contain nothing, at which any orthodox man can justly take offence? Suppose I am a Baptist, and though anxious for a library, would not accept one, on the condition that my own peculiar denominational views were to be impugned by it; when I see that the Hon. George N. Briggs—for many years a member of a Baptist church in the town where he resides—has given his approval to the books, can I, with decency, any longer retain my suspicions;—if suspicions I ever had? That gentleman for many years past has been a Representative in the Congress of the United States, and surely, it would be arrogant in me to say, that he was not as capable as myself of detecting whatever is objectionable in them. Or suppose I dissent from the Trinitarian faith, in any of the modifications in which it is held, and enrol myself either with the Unitarians, or with the Universalists; are there not Mr. Putnam, and Mr. Hudson, both clergymen, who will, *respectively*, guard every point, and see that the distinctive views, neither of Calvin nor of Hopkins, shall find their way to the children's minds, through these neutral and impartial pages? But I need not dwell longer on this point. All will perceive that every pledge for fairness,

every security against proselytism, has been given. Should any glimmer, any effluvia, or infinitesimal particle, of doctrines adverse to mine, permeate through all these guards, and become just perceptible or discoverable, in the books, to the keenest sight or scent, I cannot surely have any great faith, even in my own faith, if I am filled with dread, lest its foundations should be subverted or unsettled by them. And so as regards political views—are not the names of Governor Everett and Mr. Rantoul a sufficient pledge, that the library is tainted by no false doctrines on sub-treasuries or banks?" (*Common School Journal*.)

*Normal Schools.*—The Board of Education had proceeded only a short way in the discharge of its duties, when it became apparent to them (and it was no new discovery to the friends of education in the state), that a grand impediment to the improvement of schools consisted in the want of properly qualified teachers. "It was stated publicly, by a member of the school committee of a town containing thirty or more school districts, that one-half at least of the teachers approved by them would be rejected, only that it would be vain to expect better teachers for the present remuneration."\* The salaries of male teachers throughout the state, inclusive of board, was \$25 44 cents per month, and to female teachers, \$11 38 cents. It is supposed that \$2 50 cents a week, for males, and \$1 50 cents a week for females, would be a very low estimate for the average price of their board, respectively, throughout the state. On this basis of computation, the wages of male teachers, exclusive of board, were, on an average, \$15 44 cents per month, or at the rate of \$185 28 cents by the year; and the average wages of female teachers, exclusive of board, was \$5 38 cents a month, or at the rate of \$64 56 cents *per annum*. The wages of a laborer are \$1 a day, or \$300 a year, excluding Sundays and holydays.(a)

More than five-sixths of the children in the state are dependent on the common schools for instruction, while less than one-sixth are educated in private schools and academies. The valuation of the state in 1830, was \$208,360,407 54 cents, and in 1837, it was estimated to amount to three hundred millions of dollars. The sum raised by taxes in the year 1837, for the support of common schools, in so far as reported to the secretary, was \$465,223 4 cents, which, if we assume the correctness of the above estimate, is less than one mill† and six-tenths

\* First Annual Report of the Secretary to the Board of Education, 1838, p. 60.

(a) The wages of a *day* laborer are from \$1 to \$1 50 a day; but no common laborer can obtain \$300 by the year.

† A "mill" is the one-thousandth part of a dollar.

of a mill on each dollar comprising the capital, real and personal, of the state!

When it was maintained as a reason against augmenting the salaries of the teachers, that the state could not afford any increase of its annual appropriations for schools, the question was put, in derision, "Whether something more than one-six hundredth part of its welfare might not come from the enlightenment of its intellect and the soundness of its morals?"

So strong, however, was the aversion of the people to submit to additional taxation, that the Board did not propose any specific measures for improving the instruction of teachers, until, in March 1838, Edmund Dwight, Esq. of Boston, a member of the Board, authorised the secretary to offer to the legislature the sum of \$10,000, to be expended in the qualification of teachers of common schools, on condition that the legislature should place in the hands of the Board an equal sum to be appropriated to the same purpose. A committee of the legislature reported strongly in favor of accepting of the offer, and a resolution to do so passed both branches almost unanimously, and on the 19th of April was approved of by the governor.

The Board was now possessed of the sum of \$20,000 applicable to the instruction of 2370 male, and 3591 female teachers, being the total numbers employed in the *public* schools! but how was so small a sum to be most beneficially expended to promote the object in view? "The Board caused due notice to be given to the friends of education in all parts of the commonwealth, that, until the whole fund in their hands should become pledged, they would undertake to establish, in any place unobjectionable in point of locality, a school for the qualification of teachers, and would sustain the same for the space of three years, provided that suitable buildings, fixtures, and furniture, together with the means of carrying on such a school (exclusive of the compensation of the teachers of the school,) could be obtained from private liberality and placed under the control of the Board. In the course of the last season, offers substantially complying with this proposition, were made to the Board from seven different towns in the state. Other towns also made generous propositions to the Board, with a view to become partakers of the bounty, which public and private liberality had placed at its control."

After an anxious comparison of all practicable plans, the towns of Lexington and Barre were selected for the location of two of the Normal schools, and the location of the third was undecided on in February 1839.

I shall have occasion, at a subsequent period, to advert to the

condition and operation of this legal machinery for the support of education in Massachusetts. The two Normal schools were in successful action when I left the United States in 1840.(a)

(a) A *third* Normal school is now established at Bridgewater, in the county of Plymouth, which went into operation in September, 1840.



## CHAPTER IV.

## BOSTON.

Phrenology—Dr. Spurzheim—Social Customs in Boston—Lectures on Phrenology—Temperance—Fifteen gallon License Law—Grievances—converted into “Political Capital”—Mount Auburn—Dr. Spurzheim’s Monument—Lowell—Statistics of Lowell Manufactures—Sunday in Massachusetts—The Honorable Daniel Webster—Mr. Catlin’s Indian Gallery—Manners in New England—The Church—The Brain and Skull in the Savage and Civilised Families of Mankind—Medical Jurisprudence—Moral Insanity—American Inns—Ventilation—Statue of Washington—State of Dr. Franklin’s Trust Fund for granting Loans to Industrious Young Men—Fantastical Bequest to the City of Boston rejected by the Incorporation—Sunday—Educational Convention—Ships of War.

1838.

PHRENOLOGY.—*Dr. Spurzheim.*—On the 20th of June 1832, Dr. Spurzheim sailed from Havre for the United States, and arrived at New York on the 4th of August. On the 17th of September, he commenced a course of eighteen lectures at the Athenæum Hall, in Boston, and, soon after, another course at the University, Cambridge, three miles distant. He delivered, besides, in the afternoon of every alternate day, a course of five lectures before the Medical Faculty, and other professional gentlemen of Boston, on the anatomy of the brain. “His lectures, both in Boston and at the University, excited great and lively interest: they attracted alike the fashionable and the learned, the gay and the grave, the aged and the young, the sceptic and the Christian. Our most eminent men, as well as humble citizens, were early at the hall to secure eligible seats; and they were alike profoundly silent and attentive to the eloquence and philosophy of the lecturer.”\*

The climate of the United States is felt by most British travellers to be highly stimulating. The air is drier, and it appears to me to be more highly charged with electricity than that of Britain. The habitual state of the American people, also, is one of much higher mental excitement than that of the inhabitants

\* Biography of Dr. Spurzheim, by Nahum Capen, p. 113. Boston, 1836.

of Britain. Dr. Spurzheim speedily fell a victim to these combined influences. In addition to the labors of lecturing here enumerated, he was engaged during the day, in visiting the various institutions of the city of Boston, and in the vicinity. "His time and presence were in constant demand. There was hardly an hour in the day after nine o'clock, A. M., during which he was not engaged either in receiving company or making visits. This was not all. The little time which he had after the close of his lectures, of almost every evening in the week, was claimed, and he too often yielded to the invitations of his numerous friends."

Dr. Spurzheim was a tall and strongly constituted man. His lungs and brain were both amply developed which gave him a love at once of mental and of muscular activity. He was the most temperate of men in diet, and scarcely tasted wine. When ill, he generally took no medicine, but limited the quantity of his food, and said, "the natural laws have been violated, and I must suffer the penalty; I must live simply, and nature will correct the evil." During the progress of his lectures, he manifested symptoms of disease, but believing that nature would restore him, he declined to take repose, or to resort to medical advice. "His lectures were nearly finished, and he had a most ardent desire to close them before he rested." His audience increased so much in numbers, that he had found it necessary to remove from the Hall of the Athenæum to that of the Masonic Temple, for the two concluding lectures of his course, which were on the subject of education. On the evening of his first lecture in that place, it was very apparent that his illness had increased. "He greatly exerted himself to edify his hearers, but they seemed to be more concerned for his health than interested in his subject. They rather sympathised with the sick man, than listened to the philosopher. It was ascertained, at the close of the lecture, that the hall in the Temple could not be had for the next evening, and he, wishing to consult the convenience of his audience, asked with one of his benignant smiles, 'In what place shall we meet next time?'" He never met them again! He returned to his lodgings which he never left, and died on the 10th of November 1832. He received the greatest possible attention from the medical gentlemen of Boston during his illness. Night and day they, in succession, attended him, and their highest skill was applied, but in vain, for his restoration. Dr. Jackson, in an instructive report of the progress of his disease, says, "It is interesting to many persons to learn the exact name of his disease. It may be called a continued fever, in which the nervous symptoms were predominant. There were no symptoms of putrescency, and no strong inflammatory symptoms. If

it were called a pure *typhus*, the name would mislead many. It may rather be called a *synochus*, though not without dispute. Those who are accustomed to my teaching on this subject, know that I do not place a value on these names, not believing that nature recognises the specific distinctions which they are intended to designate. To those persons I should describe Dr. Spurzheim's disease thus: It was continued fever, in which the symptoms of the access came on insidiously, and were alone for many days; the symptoms of the other stages never became very prominent; those of a crisis never appeared. There was not evidence of inflammation in any organ of the body. If inflammation did exist, it must be called latent. At this time, October 30, he was really in the third week of fever, though he had not been confined to the house so much as one week. The disease was fastened on him. I was convinced that it was too far advanced to be removed by medicine. Dr. S. avowed to me his strong aversion to medicine," and Dr. Jackson directed the treatment according to these principles till his death.

A deep sensation was produced in Boston by Dr. Spurzheim's death. A public funeral was awarded to his remains, and a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

*Social Customs in Boston.*—The fate of Dr. Spurzheim served as an instructive lesson to myself. I speedily became acquainted by experience with some of the causes which had occasioned his death. From the first day that my arrival in Boston was announced in the newspapers, I was waited upon at every hour between 8 A. M. and 10 P. M. by a succession of visitors, many of whom called without introductions, and kept me in a state of constant and fatiguing cerebral excitement; and this continued for day after day. Many of these visits were most gratifying to me, but some of them were made by individuals impelled chiefly by curiosity, who put a succession of commonplace questions, received equally commonplace answers, and retired, leaving scarcely an interval between their departure and the renewal of the interrogatories by a succeeding visiter. I seriously thought of getting the questions and answers printed and posted up in some conspicuous part of the room, where they might be read, while I might sit quietly and be looked at. This custom of introducing one's self is peculiar to America, so far as I have learned of the etiquette of other countries, and is meant as a mark of respect. The evil is aggravated by there being no hours of respite from it. If it were confined to the day, between 12 and 6 P. M., the evenings and mornings would be left for repose; but here it never ceased while the novelty and curiosity lasted. A phrenologist is more exposed to this infliction than ordinary strangers. There is so much of the

wonderful supposed to be connected with phrenology, that my presence excited the men of strange minds, the lovers of the fanciful and extravagant, and sent an undue proportion of them to do me spontaneous honor by an interchange of ideas. Knowing that these visits were kindly meant, I submitted to them in patience, and received the visitors with all the courtesy that I could command; but I soon felt that my organisation could not sustain the excitement which was in preparation for me. I therefore laid down a rule, from which I did not deviate six times during my whole residence in the United States, namely, to give only three lectures a week; never to accept of an invitation for the day on which I lectured; and never to remain in company later than ten o'clock in the evening. By a nearly inflexible adherence to this resolution, and by strict temperance, I withstood all the influences of the climate and the labors of my vocation, without suffering one hour's illness during my stay.

*Lectures on Phrenology.*—My full courses in Edinburgh generally extended to nearly fifty lectures of one hour each. It was not to be expected that the busy citizens of Boston would devote so much time to the study, and it was impossible to do the subject justice in much less. As a compromise between difficulties, I gave sixteen lectures, of two hours each, on three nights a-week. The first lecture was delivered on the 10th of October, at 7 P. M., in the Masonic Temple. I was received in profound silence, and listened to in silence. This would have struck me as cold had I not observed that Mr. Mann and Governor Everett, who are both highly popular, and much esteemed, had been received in precisely the same manner when they delivered addresses at Taunton, and I was told that such is the custom in Boston. Far from feeling any disappointment at the absence of a noisy greeting, I was pleased; for in all my lecturing I have considered profound and sustained attention as the highest compliment which an audience can bestow. Audiences in Edinburgh are much given to this mode of testifying their interest in a subject; but in some instances it is felt to be inconvenient. The late Mrs. Siddons, although she appreciated the delicacy of sentiment, and the deep intellectual discernment, which induced her audiences in that city to observe a profound silence at the climax of her most impassioned scenes, when the London public used to shake the theatre with applause, yet suffered severely from the want of that rest from exertion which the applause, often prolonged into three rounds, afforded her. A lecturer does not strain his powers to such an extent as this.

A sermon of an hour's duration appears very long, and a lecture of two hours wears a still more formidable and forbidding

aspect. Aware of this, I delivered, at the end of the first hour, a brief address, by way of episode, to the audience, mentioning that phrenology taught us that the mind thinks by means of the brain, just as we walk by means of the legs; that the brain is liable to become fatigued by too long attention, as the locomotive muscles are by too much walking; and I, therefore, proposed to them to take a brief rest. I requested them to stand up in order to vary their position, also to converse freely with each other for the sake of relaxation, the more merrily the better, for cheerfulness circulates the blood; and I called their attention also to the absence of all means of ventilating the hall, remarking that, as we had already breathed the air which it contained for a full hour, it must have lost much of its vital properties, and needed to be renewed. I requested the gentlemen to put on their hats, and the ladies their shawls, to avoid catching cold, and then had the windows widely opened. This proceeding caused some astonishment and alarm at first; for the Americans generally have a dread of cold air, amounting almost to an aërophobia. I assured them that they would suffer no inconvenience, and they submitted to the experiment. The interval allowed was only five minutes, at the end of which I resumed the lecture; but so refreshing were the effects of the brief rest, of the change of position, and, above all, the admission of pure air, that during the second hour the attention was as completely sustained as during the first. The same practice was continued every evening through the whole course, and with the same success. Many individuals expressed their gratification at having discovered such simple means of relieving the tedium of a long discourse; and as my audiences continued to increase, after the length of the lectures was generally known, it became evident that the two hours' application, when thus arranged, was not felt as an unbearable affliction. I concluded the lecture also in silence.

In Edinburgh, the late Mr. Robert Johnston, long distinguished for his philanthropy, requested that several inmates of the asylum for the blind might be permitted to attend my lectures on phrenology; they did so, and were interested. I gave a general invitation to the pupils of the institution for the blind in Boston to attend, and about twenty honored me with their presence every evening. On a subsequent visit to the asylum, I found that they had profited by the instruction, and that phrenology was used by them as the philosophy of mind, and applied with skill and success in analysing character, both historical and personal. They have been assisted in their studies by an Outline of Phrenology prepared by Dr. Howe, and printed in raised type for their use, of which he presented me with a copy.

October 11. Thermometer 51°. *Temperance*.—I have read in the Boston Evening Mercantile Journal, a notice that the inhabitants of Providence, the capital of the state of Rhode Island, assembled in a town meeting, had instructed the magistrates to grant no licenses for retailing any fermented liquors in quantities less than ten gallons; that a wine-merchant had sold a case of one dozen of champagne, as imported from France, and had been fined for infringing the law; that the case had been appealed to the Court of Review, and that the decision is now confirmed.

*Fifteen-Gallon License Law*.—In Massachusetts the temperance cause had made such great advances, that, in April, 1838, an act was passed by both houses of the legislature, and approved of by the governor, which ordained, “that no licensed innholder, retailer, common victualler, or other person, except as herein provided, shall sell any brandy, rum, or other spirituous liquors, or any mixed liquor, part of which is spirituous, in a less quantity than fifteen gallons, and that delivered and carried away all at one time, on pain of forfeiting not more than twenty dollars, nor less than ten dollars, for each offence.” The exception is, that “the county commissioners in the several counties, may license, for their respective towns, as many apothecaries or practising physicians, as they may deem necessary, to be retailers of spirituous liquors, to be used in the arts, or for medicinal purposes only.” The same power is given to the mayor and aldermen of the cities. All licenses to be granted subsequently to the passing of the act, are to be restricted in accordance with its terms. It came into effect on the 1st of July, 1838.

Both political parties concurred in the enactment of this law, and it was passed in consequence of a strong expression of public sentiment in its favor. Already, however, agitation is rife against it, and strong efforts are making by those whose interests it affects to defeat its provisions. Among other devices to evade it, one ingenious Yankee advertised a wonderful striped pig as a show. The price of admission was equal to that of a glass of rum; and each person who entered found a glass of this beverage standing on a table, placed there by unseen hands; he drank it while admiring the beauties of the pig, deposited the empty glass on the table, and retired; having held converse with no one except the rum and the pig. Not only were the rum-makers and the rum-drinkers dissatisfied with the law, but some of the most enlightened men of the state considered that it was erroneous in principle: they regarded moral suasion, and not legal pains and penalties, as the only true foundation of virtuous habits: other excellent persons, true friends to temperance, considered that it

had gone too far, for it prevented the great body of the people, who could not afford to purchase a stock of fifteen gallons at a time, from obtaining spirituous liquors of any kind even for the most temperate use in their families, while it left the rich in possession of the power of indulging their appetites unrestrained.(a)

*Grievances converted into “Political Capital.”*—One evil attending democratic institutions and universal suffrage, while the mass of the people are imperfectly educated and untrained to the guidance of reason, is the tendency to convert all questions into subjects of party contention. Although both parties in this state concurred in the license law, the democrats, discerning the rising discontent, are already preparing to turn it to their own account, or, in American phraseology, “to make political capital” of it. This phrase is so pithy, so expressive, and every way so excellent, that it should be transferred into the English language, more especially as we have the thing which it signifies in perfection, and want an adequate name for it. Its meaning is this: when a party perceives a strong feeling in the public either arising, or capable of being excited, for or against any particular measure, they become the headlong advocates of the popular side, and charge the support of the opposite opinions on their opponents, altogether regardless of the real merits of the question, of moral rectitude, or of the ultimate welfare of the people. The popularity which they gain by this conduct, is called “political capital,” because it carries so many votes to their own side, not only on the specific question, but in the general politics of the state. Among us, the devoted and vociferous champions of the Throne and the Altar, who in their speeches vilify the Queen, and in their lives set at defiance the pure precepts of Christianity, are manufacturers of “political capital.” They know that the people are loyal and religious, and endeavor to catch their votes by pretending a loyal and religious zeal, which has a political foundation and no other.

In the United States, whenever party-spirit is strongly excited, the intrinsic merits of a measure, whether in morality or utility, are subordinate considerations; a despotism of party is engendered and wielded without compunction or control. A higher moral, intellectual, and political education of the whole people, appears to me to be the only remedy for this evil, which is yearly on the increase.

Oct. 12. *Mount Auburn.*—A friend drove us to-day to visit Harvard University, at Cambridge, three miles from Boston, and its President, Mr. Josiah Quincy. We were kindly received by

(a) It is by this odd kind of professing temperance, which advocates temperate liquor drinking, that drunkards are made, and drunkenness is rendered incurable.

Mr. Quincy and his family, and much interested in the institution over which he presides. As, however, it has often been described by English travellers, I proceed to mention Mount Auburn, the celebrated cemetery which lies in its vicinity. The ground includes about one hundred acres, and was purchased by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in 1831. A portion of it, lying next the road, is used as an Experimental Garden, and the remainder was consecrated on the 24th of September that year as a cemetery. The tract is beautifully undulating in its surface, containing a number of bold eminences, steep acclivities, and deep shadowy valleys. The principal eminence, called Mount Auburn, is 125 feet above the level of Charles River, and commands from its summit an extensive and lovely prospect. The grounds are covered with forest trees, of every variety common in the country, and some of them of large dimensions. The surface has been laid out with intersecting avenues, so as to render every part of the wood accessible. Lots of ground, containing each three hundred square feet, are set off as family burial-places. About two hundred of these have been sold at \$60 each, and, in some instances, even an additional sum has been received in premiums for the right of choice.\* The whole is inclosed by a substantial fence, seven feet high, with a gateway, finished in the Egyptian style, for its principal entrance. The gateway is handsome and massive, and is a successful imitation of granite.

On entering the gateway, and passing up the central avenue, the first object that presents itself, placed on a gentle eminence, is a beautiful sarcophagus of marble resting on a pedestal of granite, and surrounded by a handsome oval iron-rail. It bears the inscription, "SPURZHEIM, 1832."

I beheld this monument with the most vivid interest. When I last parted from Dr. Spurzheim in Edinburgh, no conception could be farther from the mind of either of us, than that I should ever heave a sigh over his monument in Massachusetts! Neither of us had then contemplated crossing the Atlantic. He was my master and my friend; and, in having taught me Phrenology—I regard him as my greatest earthly benefactor. The sarcophagus is said to be a copy of that of Scipio. Be it so; it is beautiful and simple, and to me it was full of pathos with its single word, "SPURZHEIM."

13th Oct. Ther. 44°. *Lowell.*—We visited Lowell this day. The town is situated twenty miles north of Boston, and is connected with it both by an excellent railroad and by a canal. It is built on a neck of land where the Concord River falls into the Merrimack, and commands powerful and copious waterfalls.

\* Bowen's Picture of Boston, 1838.



The war with England in 1813, gave origin to the town, as a manufacturing station, and it has increased with astonishing rapidity. It now contains above 20,000 inhabitants, and already looks like a younger Manchester. On 1st January, 1838, there were ten large manufactories for spinning and weaving cotton and carpets, for dyeing and printing cotton, making machinery, &c. No young children are employed in the mills. The female operatives are mostly young women, daughters of farmers and the village inhabitants of New England, who come from a distance, and work in the manufactories, not for life, but for a few years only, till they have saved respectively, a sum of \$200 to \$400, and even \$500, when they marry, or leave the mills and go home. They generally visit their relations twice a year. In one of the mills, an account was kept of the distance to which each travelled to reach home, and the average of the whole was eighty-four miles. They work twelve hours a day, by their own choice, as they are paid by the piece. They are respectable in character, and appeared healthy. The articles manufactured in cotton are all of the common and cheap kinds, but handsome in pattern, and substantial in fabric. The southern slave states afford the great market for the manufactures of New England. The churches are numerous and belong to every sect, Episcopal, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Universalist, Unitarian, and Roman Catholic. All subsist in peace, because all are equal in power and privileges, and each pays for that religious instruction which his conscience considers to be right, and he is not taxed for any other.

The table, Appendix No. II, affords an accurate and comprehensive view of the statistics of Lowell, on the 1st of January, 1838.

Oct. 14. *Sunday in Massachusetts.*—We went to the church in Federal Street, of which the celebrated Dr. W. E. Channing is the pastor; but he did not preach, not having yet returned to Boston from Rhode Island, where he generally passes the summer. We heard an elegant, sensible, and pleasing discourse on the loss of children, by his colleague, the Rev. Mr. Gannett. The church is large, and handsomely fitted up. The passages between the pews are carpeted, and the pews are both carpeted and cushioned. The music and singing by a choir were remarkably good. I mention these particulars, because I was struck by the superior elegance and comfort of the voluntary churches of America generally, compared with the condition of the established churches of Scotland. The congregation were genteel in their appearance, but not numerous.

In the New Testament, no express injunction is laid on Christians to observe the first day of the week in the same man-

ner that the Jews were commanded, in the Old Testament, to observe the last of the week, or Sabbath. In point of fact, there is no explicit prescription in the New Testament, of any particular mode of observing the first day of the week. While, therefore, all Christian nations have agreed in considering themselves not bound by the fourth commandment, to observe the seventh day, or Jewish Sabbath, they have differed in regard to the mode of observing the first day of the week; and as the Scripture prescribes no definite rule, each nation has adopted such forms of observance as appeared to itself to be most accordant with the general spirit of Christianity. Thus, in Catholic countries, amusements are permitted on Sundays, after divine service; in Scotland, amusements and labor, except works of necessity and mercy, are prohibited. In Scotland, also, Sunday commences at twelve o'clock on Saturday night, and ends at twelve o'clock on Sunday night. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, different views are entertained. While chap. 50, sects. 1st, 2d, and 3d, of the Revised Statutes, prohibits all persons from doing any work, and from travelling on "the Lord's day," sect. 4th declares that day, for the purposes of these sections, "to include the time between the midnight preceding and *the sunsetting of the said day.*" According to the Scottish law, therefore, Sunday consists of twenty-four hours, at all seasons of the year; while, according to the "Revised Statutes of Massachusetts," it consists only of sixteen and a half hours on the 22d of December, and stretches out as the days lengthen, but never exceeds nineteen and a half hours at any period. Hence, in Scotland, a person would be fined or imprisoned for doing acts after sunset, on the Sunday evening, which in Massachusetts are entirely lawful. Again: in the Revised Statutes of this commonwealth, it is declared, by sect. 5, that "no person shall be present at any game, sport, play, or public diversion, except concerts of sacred music, upon the evening next preceding or following the Lord's day," under the penalty of paying a fine of five dollars. In Edinburgh, the best plays and public entertainments are brought forth on the "evening next preceding the Lord's day," or Saturday evening,—and are then most numerously attended: so that in Boston a Christian is fined in five dollars for doing, on that evening, what a Christian in Edinburgh is permitted to do, without any penalty whatever.

It has frequently been remarked that the theatre in Boston is unsuccessful; but this state of the law may be one cause of its failure. Sunday is observed with the greatest decorum in this city, and although the law declares it to terminate at sunset, the only relaxation of observance which I remarked was, that political meetings were held on Sunday evenings, and that ladies

played on the pianoforte, sang, knitted, or engaged in any light employment, without any sense of sin. Many of the churches, however, were open for worship in the evening.

Oct. 15. *The Hon. Daniel Webster.*—To-day I met Mr. Webster in company. The published bust of him, which is a correct delineation of his head, shows a voluminous anterior lobe of the brain, indicating very powerful intellectual faculties. Individuality, which gives the capacity for details, is deficient, but comparison and causality are broad, prominent, and massive. Benevolence is the largest among the moral organs, and the base of the brain is large. The temperament is bilious, with a portion of the sanguine, and lymphatic. He is a lawyer by profession, and at the bar and in the United States' Senate, is recognised as a man of gigantic intellect. His style in conversation is clear, simple, deliberate, and forcible, occasionally humorous and playful. The talent of the New-Englanders in bargain-making is proverbial in America, and the inhabitants of the little barren island of Nantucket, if we were to judge from the following anecdote, would seem to carry off the palm from all others in this accomplishment. One of the party at table, alluding to an illustration of this characteristic of the Nantucket population, which, according to Sam Slick, had occurred in the professional practice of Mr. Webster, asked him whether it was true. He said it was essentially correct, and proceeded to state the real incidents as follows. A Nantucket client had asked him to go to that island,\* to plead a cause for him. Mr. Webster, after mentioning the distance, the loss of time, and the interruption to his other practice, said that he could not go unless he received a fee of a thousand dollars. The client objected to paying so large a sum for pleading one cause. Mr. Webster replied, that the fatigue and loss of time in travelling to Nantucket, and remaining there probably during the whole circuit, amounted to as great a sacrifice on his part, as if he pleaded in every cause on the roll. "Well, then," said his client, "come, and I will pay you the thousand dollars; but you shall be at my disposal for the whole sittings, and I shall let you out, if I can." Mr. Webster went, and was sub-let by his client, who drew the fees to relieve his own loss. Judge Story, who was present, remarked, that he had often heard the anecdote mentioned, but never before heard it authenticated. He added, "the current edition proceeds to tell that your client let you out for eleven hundred dollars, saved his own pocket entirely, and gained ten

\* It lies about 40 miles from the New England shore, at the north entrance into Long Island Sound. [Its inhabitants are more justly and unequivocally celebrated for their successful and daring prosecution of the whale fishery, than for quirks and cranks in law or traffic.]

per cent. on his speculation." Mr. Webster stated with great good humor, that, as his client had not reported the amount of the sub-fees which he drew, he could not tell whether this addition was correct or not. Sam Slick's report of this occurrence is not entirely accurate.

October 16. *Mr. Catlin's Indian Gallery.*—To-day we visited Mr. Catlin's Indian Gallery in Faneuil Hall, generally mentioned as the cradle of American Independence, because here were held the public meetings of the citizens of Boston at which resistance against the duty on tea was first resolved upon. The great hall in which the Indian curiosities are exhibited, is 76 feet square, and 28 feet high. Mr. Catlin has resided for several years among the native Indians settled west of the Mississippi, on the Missouri, and in other districts; he painted portraits of the men and women, on the spot, as he saw them; painted their country in numerous landscapes; represented their dances, superstitions, ceremonies, and hunting parties, and also their villages and tents; in short, their actions and modes of life. He has purchased one of their tents, composed of the skins of buffaloes ingeniously dressed and ornamented; their garments, ornaments, arms, and articles of luxury and amusement; and he exhibits the whole in this large gallery. He describes them also in lectures, in a very interesting manner. He admires the Indians and speaks of their high qualities, and of the cruel injustice with which they have been treated by the Americans. His representations and descriptions of their country, and especially of their boundless prairies, covered with the richest green turf, and diversified with hills, named by the Americans Bluffs, varying in height from one hundred to seven or eight hundred feet, make one long to visit them; yet, the horrible scenes of cruelty and superstitions which he has represented contrast strangely with the virtues which he ascribes to them. The pictures, as works of art, are deficient in drawing, perspective, and finish: but they convey a vivid impression of the objects, and impress the mind of the spectator with a conviction of their fidelity to nature which gives them an inexpressible charm. In the portraits, a few of the men are represented with tolerably good intellectual organs, and some of the women with a fair average development of the moral organs. The best, Mr. Catlin suspected to be half-breeds; but the great mass of pure Indians present the deficient anterior lobe, the deficient coronal region, and the predominating base of the brain, by which savages in general are characterised.

Oct. 17. *Manners in New England.*—I conversed to-day with a gentleman of great acuteness and experience, who has observed the progress of manners in New England, for upwards of half a century. He mentioned, that within that time there

has been a great diminution in convivial drinking among the higher classes, independently of the influence of temperance societies, and that at dinner, the gentlemen drink much less wine. I have already had occasion to remark the exemplary temperance in this respect of the gentlemen in the first class of society here. Dinner is served at three o'clock, a few glasses of wine are taken, conversation proceeds with spirit, and the entertainment terminates by a cup of coffee brought to the table about six o'clock. In many instances, the gentlemen retire to the drawing-room, and join the ladies an hour earlier. Some families, who have been much in Europe, dine at 6 o'clock, and entertain in the English style; but this is by no means common.

*The Church.*—My friend continued to say, that their Voluntary Church system has led to the multiplication of churches even to excess, and to inadequate provision for the ministers, and has also, in some instances, occasioned animosities among the people. The dependence of the clergy on their hearers, has led some of them to study their humors, and to preach fanatical doctrines for the sake of excitement, rather than to follow the dictates of their own understandings. He has observed, however, that from there being among the sects no artificial distinctions created by the law, these animosities speedily subside, and that there is a constant tendency in the public mind to correct its own errors. The usual time now occupied by divine service in Boston, is an hour or an hour and a quarter. The morning service begins at half-past ten, and ends at a quarter before twelve. The afternoon service begins at three. The time employed in public worship has been much shortened within his recollection. There is a growing disposition in the people to subject religion to the examination of reason; and opinion is, in some instances, passing even beyond Unitarianism. Still Calvinism, in its purest forms, is extensively professed by the people.

Oct. 19. Thermometer 45°. *Medical Jurisprudence—Moral Insanity.*—To-day I read, in the American Jurist, No. 38, a very able review of "A Treatise on the Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity, by J. Ray, M.D., 8vo, pp. 476. Boston, 1838." It is dedicated, "To the Hon. Horace Mann, to whose persevering exertions our country is mainly indebted for one of its noblest institutions\* for ameliorating the condition of the Insane." It is recommended by the reviewer to public attention, on account of the talent which it displays, and also because it treats of insanity on phrenological principles, and embodies the views of the most recent French, British, and American authorities on the subject.

\* The Lunatic Hospital at Worcester.

I have since consulted the work itself, and find it to contain much excellent matter. In an able Essay prefixed to the volume, the contradictions, errors, and inhumanity of the doctrines on insanity, delivered, up to a very recent period, by the lawyers of England, are ably stated and commented on. Nor does Scotland escape the searching scrutiny of the author. "The doctrine," says he, "of *moral* insanity has been as yet unfavorably received by judicial authorities, not certainly for want of sufficient facts to support it, but probably from that common tendency of the mind, to resist innovations upon old and generally received views. If, a quarter of a century ago, one of the highest law-officers of Great Britain pronounced the manifestation of 'systematic correctness' of an action, a proof of sanity sufficient to render all others unnecessary, it is not surprising, that the idea of moral insanity has been considered by the legal profession, as having sprung from the teeming brains of medical theorists. In the fulness of this spirit, Mr. Chitty declares, that 'unless a jury should be satisfied that the *mental faculties* have been *perverted*, or at least the faculties of *reason and judgment*, it is believed that the party subject to such a *moral* insanity, as it is termed, would not be protected from criminal punishment;\*' and, in the trial of Howison for the murder of the widow Geddes, at King's Cramond, Scotland, two or three years since, moral insanity, which was pleaded in his defence, was declared by the Court to be a 'groundless theory.† Such opinions, from quarters where a modest teachableness would have been more becoming than an arrogant contempt for the results of other men's inquiries, involuntarily suggest to the mind a comparison of their authors with the saintly persecutors of Galileo, who resolved, by solemn statutes, that nature always had operated, and always should operate, in accordance with their views of propriety and truth." P. 50.

Dr. Ray adverts to the indecent haste with which the trial, sentence, and execution of John Bellingham, for shooting Mr. Perceval in 1812, were hurried over, and remarks, that few, at this period, "will read the report of the trial, without being forced to the conclusion, that he was really mad," or, at the very least, that his case should have been deliberately investigated. He adds, in reference again to Howison's case, "that application was made to the Secretary of State, by Howison's law-agent, for time to obtain further evidence of his insanity, but without success," although "several post-judicial facts were added," that left no doubt that the unhappy man was not a fit

\* Chitty, Med. Jurisp. 352.

† Simpson on Homicidal Insanity, reprinted in Boston, 1834.

subject for punishment. This is all true; and the most striking of these facts, with which Dr. Ray probably was not acquainted, is, that, in the night preceding the morning of his execution, Howison made a confession of a number of murders, which he stated that he had committed, and of which he specified the times, places, and circumstances, evidently believing them to be real, but which, on inquiry, turned out, one and all of them, to be mere phantoms of his own diseased mind. The organs of Destructiveness appear, in him, to have been liable to states of diseased excitement, giving rise to destructive monomania, and, while laboring under one of these paroxysms, which misled his own judgment and memory, and prompted him to clothe its suggestions with the attributes of reality, he was led forth to the gallows and executed! The evidence adduced at his trial, and subsequently obtained, appeared to me to prove that he committed the homicide, for which he suffered, in a similar state of mind, without provocation, and without any motive discernible by a sane understanding.

*American Inns.*—We met to-day with a young physician whom we had visited last year in Germany, and with whom we renewed our acquaintance with much pleasure. We compared our respective observations and experience in travelling in the United States, and while we stated our satisfaction, he, being a single gentleman, and having had a more extensive experience than we, gave a different account. In travelling to Niagara, he had been put into a room with six beds, and in the Tremont Hotel in Boston, he had been ushered into an apartment containing three beds, one of which was allotted to him. On one occasion he actually found another person sleeping in his bed. He resisted this treatment, and afterwards procured a bed-room to himself. I mention these facts, because we have met with nothing like them in the older parts of the United States, and because this instance serves to show how different travellers may give widely different representations of the customs of the same country, and yet both may relate facts.

October 19. *Ventilation.*—An incident occurred at my lecture-room this evening, which, although trivial in itself, is illustrative of an error which is not uncommon in the United States; I mean the unskilful or inattentive management of stoves. A large stove had been lighted in the private room at the Masonic Temple, adjoining the hall, and the coals had burned into a bright red heat just before I entered. I chanced to look at the construction of the stove, which was large, wide and open in front, and I could discover no aperture for allowing the smoke to escape. I asked my assistant, a young gentleman of Boston,

if he could explain how it was disposed of. He turned a small iron projection in the side, and instantly a damper revolved and presented an aperture for its escape. It appeared to me that this damper had been deliberately closed by a very *sensible* man who had charge of the temple, after the fire had come to a red heat, under the notion that there was no longer any smoke, and that the use of this contrivance was to prevent the heat from escaping up the chimney. The fire was burning vividly, and pouring into the room streams of heated air charged to the maximum with carbonic acid gas! Some portion of the bad health which is complained of in America arises from imperfect ventilation, and occasionally, perhaps, from such practices as this.

Oct. 20. *Statue of General Washington.*—We visited the State House built in 1795, and enjoyed a noble prospect from the top of the dome. It stands on the summit of what was Beacon Hill, and the dome is 230 feet above the level of the sea. Here, for the first time, the exact location of Boston, almost entirely surrounded by the sea, became intelligible. In the outer hall is a statue of Washington executed by Chantry. It is highly expressive of moral and intellectual greatness, although Washington is, perhaps, more poetical in this marble than he was in nature; but “such things must always be” in painting and statuary. It is gratifying to observe the profound respect with which the memories of Washington and Benjamin Franklin are regarded in Boston. Their figures appear on sign-boards, in print-shops and in private houses; some few busts may be seen in private houses in marble or bronze, hundreds in stucco, and innumerable multitudes of portraits in engraving and lithography.

*Benjamin Franklin.*—In America, Franklin holds the same rank in public estimation that Saint John of Nepomuc does in Bohemia; he is their saint and prophet; and it is no disparagement to their taste and judgment that he should maintain this rank. There was a deep sagacity and comprehensive power of intellect, a calm and persevering activity, a generous philanthropy, and an inflexible integrity in Franklin, that placed him in the first rank of great and useful men. I have heard it remarked, however, that some of his modern admirers practise his lessons of thrift much more rigidly than his maxims of justice, and that, in this respect, his writings and example are not purely beneficial. There may be truth in this observation, for circumstances have greatly changed since he wrote his lessons of economy in the character of Poor Richard. Then, capital was extremely scarce, the field of mercantile operations



was limited, and banks were nearly unknown. A rigid economy was, therefore, indispensable to success in business, and saving was the only certain road to independence. In the present day, an extensive commerce and abundance of capital, supplied by banks so numerous and active, that they inundate the country with their currency, render extreme thrift less necessary and meritorious.

Franklin in his will left 1000*l.* sterling to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, to be managed by the select men, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian churches, and to be lent out in sums not less than 15*l.* and not exceeding 60*l.*, upon interest at 5 per cent. per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the town, have a good moral character, and can obtain at least two respectable citizens to be sureties for them for the repayment of the sum lent, with interest. Franklin anticipated that at the end of a hundred years, this legacy would accumulate to 130,000*l.*, and he ordered 100,000*l.* of it to be then applied to the construction of public works, and the remaining 30,000*l.* to be lent out, as before directed, for another hundred years, at the end of which period he calculated that the accumulated fund, "if no unforeseen accident has prevented the operation," would amount to four millions and sixty-one thousand pounds, of which he left 1,061,000*l.* to the disposition of the inhabitants of Boston, and 2,000,000*l.* to the disposition of the government of the state, "not presuming to carry my views farther."

I was desirous of discovering how far Dr. Franklin's intentions and expectations had been realised, and by the kindness of a friend I obtained a copy of the following authentic report on the subject:—

"JOHN THOMSON, Esq.

Philadelphia.

BOSTON, Dec. 23, 1836.

"SIR:—Your letter to Mr. Lyman, late Mayor of this city, has been handed to me as treasurer of the Franklin Fund, with a request that I should answer it, which I proceed to do.

"The whole number of loans from this fund from May, 1791, to this time, has been 255, in sums varying from \$70 to \$266, up to the year 1800, since which they have usually been \$200. From July, 1811, to the present time, the number of loans has been 91, of which 50 at least have been repaid in whole or in part by sureties, and in four of these are balances which cannot be collected, both principals and sureties being insolvent.

"Dr. Franklin's donation was 1000*l.*, and the present value of the fund is as follows:—

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| “ Estimate of 13 bonds considered good,  | \$1,428 68  |
| “ Amount deposited in office of Massachusetts<br>Hosp. Life Insurance Company, | 22,739 00   |
| “ Cash in hands of the treasurer,  | 158 15      |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | \$24,325 83 |

“ It is apparent from these facts, that the benevolent intentions of the donor have not been realised, and that in the present condition of our country it is not advantageous to married men of twenty-four to borrow money to be repaid in easy instalments at a low rate of interest, and the improvidence of early marriages among that class may fairly be inferred.

“ The great number of instances in which sureties have been obliged to pay the loans has rendered it not so easy as formerly for applicants to obtain the required security. This is proved by the present small number of loans from the fund, averaging for the last ten years not more than one a year.

“ Until within the last twenty years, no great care was given to accumulating the fund. It is now carefully attended to, and the money not required for actual use is placed in the Life Office, where it increases at the rate of about  $5\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. a year.

“ The loans are made at the rate of 5 per cent., but on instalments past due 6 per cent. interest is charged from the time they become payable, and the bonds of delinquents are put in suit after reasonable notice.

“ Two sureties, at least, are required on each bond.

“ Yours respectfully,

“ (Signed)

WM. MINOT.”

Another sum of 1000*l.* sterling was bequeathed by Dr. Franklin to the city of Philadelphia, under similar conditions, and at the present time (1838) it is said to amount to only about \$14,000. Franklin had calculated that these legacies would at this period amount to \$50,000 each!

The legal rate of interest in Massachusetts is 6 per cent., and any respectable person can obtain money from the banks at this rate, on giving such security as Dr. Franklin required. There is, however, this advantage in applying for a loan to his trustees in preference to a bank, that the trustees lend at 5 per cent., and the banks at 6; but on the opposite side must be placed the conditions, that the borrower from them must have served an apprenticeship, and must be married, and under twenty-five years of age, and that the sum which can be lent to him must not exceed 60*l.* sterling, all of which operate as disadvantages. These circumstances, which Franklin could not foresee, account for the limited success of his benevolent bequest.

*Fantastical Bequest to the city of Boston.*—My inquiries about Dr. Franklin's legacy, brought to my knowledge another bequest (apparently suggested by his example), which was lately made to the mayor and aldermen of Boston. The testator was Ambrose S. Courtis, of Boston, who died in Nauplia, in Greece, on the 27th of August, 1836. By his will, dated the 2d of July, 1834, the sum of \$5000 is given to the city, from which it is to derive no benefit till it has accumulated to the amount of \$3,000,000, and then it is to be devoted to the erection of an exchange with shops and stores; the like sum of \$5000 is given, burthened with an annuity consuming the whole income for three lives, and after that, the income is to be devoted to the purchase of books and stationery for poor children in the public schools; the sum of \$2000 is given to accumulate to \$200,000, and then to be used for the establishment of a school to teach navigation to sailors; and another sum of \$2000 to accumulate to \$200,000, and then to be spent in the erection of public stone-baths.

The mayor and aldermen, on the report of a committee, declined to accept of the legacies under these conditions, and the money devolved on the testator's legal representatives. "There are many considerations," say the committee, "which would go far to convince those who reflect on the subject, that such a prolonged accumulation is neither probable nor possible. In a world, of which the most prominent characteristic is mutability, where nothing but a few great features remain, for any considerable period, unchanged, and where every thing which depends on human agency is subject to the combined chances of change, arising from the ordinary laws of God's providence, and the imperfection, ignorance, and volatility of man, (who, to some extent, is allowed to pursue the course his judgment or his passions may dictate), it seems nothing short of a wild presumption to attempt to chain down the course of action for successive generations, and to require this or that to be done by our successors, of whose character, condition, wants, and wishes, we know, and can know, absolutely nothing. And all experience confirms this view of things. It is not the first time that the attempt has been made, but in every instance known to the committee, the failure of such prospective arrangements has been signal and entire. Perhaps the two most remarkable instances are those of Franklin and Thelluson, well known cases, which will naturally occur to all, as warnings rather than examples." The committee also regarded the testator as insane.

Oct. 20. *Sunday.*—To-day we went to the "King's Chapel," so named from its having been the government church before the revolution. A reformed prayer-book of the Episcopal Church is used. The choir and organ are excellent. Mr. Greenwood

preached on the text, "Grieve not the Spirit of God," which he interpreted to mean that we should not act against God's law of purity and peace, to our own injury and vexation. The whole service was exceedingly refined. The church was cushioned and carpeted, the temperature was agreeable, and the audience very attentive. In our Scotch churches, especially in winter, there is a great deal of coughing when the congregation first meet for the morning service. I have observed that there is much less of this in the American churches. Near the door were two excellent seats, each inscribed "Strangers' Pew." There has been no collection of money in any of the Boston churches which we have yet visited.

*Educational Meeting.*—In the evening, we accompanied two friends to Brighton, a village five miles from Boston, to hear Mr. Mann deliver an address to the people assembled in the church, on the improvement of their schools. We were introduced to a family in the village, who kindly invited us to partake of their evening meal; tea we should call it in England; they, I believe, name it supper. It consisted of tea, coffee, bread, butter, cold meat, preserves, squash pie, and cranberry tart. Before we commenced, our host said grace, in the course of which he introduced a petition for a blessing on Mr. Mann and his efforts to improve the schools of the people, and also on the "strangers who had crossed the mighty deep to communicate their stores of knowledge to the people of this land." The sentiments and language were equally beautiful, and there was no appearance of preparation or ostentation of literary attainments in the prayer. In passing the window of the house, I saw a young woman, apparently about sixteen, with a music-book in her hand, leading a little band of children and servants in singing their evening hymns. The church was well filled, and the people listened with profound interest to one of Mr. Mann's eloquent and excellent discourses, which equally instructed and delighted his hearers. We returned to Boston at 10 P. M.

This was an instance of the advantage attending the law of Massachusetts which makes Sunday terminate at sunset. The people were at leisure, and well dressed, and their minds had been wakened to serious considerations by the previous exercises of the day. They were, therefore, in the best condition for meeting together and listening with advantage to such a discourse as was delivered to them. If any philanthropist had proposed such a benevolent act on the Sunday evening in Edinburgh, he would have been denounced as a Sabbath-breaker, if not fined by the police-magistrate. In Britain, we have an indescribable extent of lee-way to make up in the instruction of

the people, and as they have no leisure day except Sunday, and many of them either go to no place of worship, or consider the forenoon and afternoon service sufficient for their spiritual edification, would it not be well to permit those who are inclined to receive secular instruction on the evening of that day, to obtain it, without offering any impediment to others assembling themselves together for religious worship?

Oct. 22. Thermometer 42°. *Ships of War.*—We visited a friend who resides at Charlestown, a village across the bay, and connected by a long bridge with Boston, and were introduced to Commodore Downes, the Superintendent of the United States' Navy-Yard. He was polite and attentive, and showed us the rope-spinning machinery, which is said to be new, and the invention of a mechanic of the United States. It appeared to an unskilled judgment to be ingenious and to work well. The apparatus for tarring the ropes was also simple and efficient. The machinery untwists the yarn, when it dips it in the tar, and retwists it when it takes it out. The hull of a new frigate was nearly completed, and that of a new 74, to be named the "Vermont," was apparently finished. We saw large stores of "live oak," a tree found chiefly in Florida. Its specific gravity exceeds that of water, and it was sunk in the salt-water to prepare it for use. It is tough and enduring in an extraordinary degree, yet, when perforated by a ball, it breaks sharp off, without scattering splinters. The knees of a new sloop of war were lying blocked out of this timber, and were of great strength and thickness. The new ships are not planked in the inner surface; but the timbers are so close together for a considerable height above the keel, that the keel might be knocked off, and still the ship would not leak until the timbers were chafed through or broken. We visited also the Columbus, a three-decker, which lies at the wharf as a receiving-ship. I felt an involuntary horror in walking along the decks of this great ship, and contemplating her fearful batteries of 32 pounders, prepared for the destruction of human life. There are a strength, solidity, and adaptation about a ship of war, that constitute it truly the triumph of human power; but it is painful to reflect, that this magnificent display of mind is still devoted to the service of the most mischievous of our animal propensities—Destructiveness.

## CHAPTER V.

Life Insurance—Phrenology—Popular Lectures—Pictures—Use of Phrenology to Artists—Practical Phrenology—The Temperaments—Development of the Brain in the Inhabitants of Boston—Police of Boston—The Voluntary Church in Massachusetts—National Skulls—Servants in New England—Future Prospects of the United States—Aristocracy in America and England—Elections—The Sailor's Church—Popular Lectures—Temperance—The License Law—Phrenology—The Supreme Courts—Mr. Webster—The Weather—Common Schools—The Power of the People greater than their Educational Attainments—Necessity of Improving Education in the United States—Tremont Theatre—Mr. Buckingham's Lectures—Charlestown Lunatic Asylum—Elections.

1838.

*Life Insurance.*—In the course of conversation, it was mentioned to me that there is only one Life Insurance Company in Boston, one in New York, and one very recently established in Philadelphia;(a) but no other in the United States, so far as my informant knew. I asked the reason of this, seeing that these companies are very numerous and useful in Britain. One gentleman said, that early marriages, which greatly increase the chances of the parents living to rear their own children, and also the great facility with which children can provide for themselves in America, render the people less anxious about insuring their lives than they are in old countries where the circumstances are different. Another friend remarked that capital here is so productive, that many persons believe that they can do better for their families by employing it in trade, than by paying it in premiums to insurance offices; while a third hinted that there is also an impatience in the people for immediate returns, which renders them averse to an expenditure, however small, that is to yield its fruits only at a distant period, and after their own death; and finally, that suspicions have been entertained of the stability of insurance offices in this country.(b)

*Phrenology.*—I continue to receive invitations to deliver sin-

(a) There are two Companies for Life Insurance in Philadelphia—one of them of long standing.

(b) The last of these reasons is, we believe, one that is seldom assigned, by those who neglect or procrastinate the performance of a measure of prudence, if not of positive duty.

gle lectures, or short courses of three, four, or six lectures on Phrenology, from various towns. Almost every village appears to have its lyceum, in which two or three lectures on a particular subject are delivered, and then the lecturer moves onward to another village, and is succeeded by another teacher. This scatters knowledge, but I fear to the winds, rather than upon the minds of the people. They generally offer me \$25 for each lecture. As the progress of Phrenology has been much impeded by its teachers giving only brief and unsatisfactory expositions of its doctrines, I am under the necessity of declining these invitations.

*Popular Lectures.*—I find that the same system of desultory lecturing prevails in Boston. Lectures are delivered almost every night in the week in one institution or another, which are attended by audiences numbering from five to fifteen hundred persons of both sexes; but entertainment and excitement, as much as instruction, are the objects of these discourses. In general, there is a new subject and a new lecturer every night; and three lectures on one topic are regarded as a very full exposition of it. The lecturers are men of talents and education in every profession of life, who desire to instruct the people or to render their own attainments known. The most distinguished divines, senators, physicians, lawyers, and merchants, appear before the people as lecturers. Among these, the Rev. Dr. W. E. Channing and Mr. John Quincy Adams, ex-president of the United States may be named. These voluntary teachers generally lecture without fees: but if a minister, a lawyer, or a physician, have a large family and a small income, and also talents for public instruction, it is no disparagement to his reputation, but the contrary, if he prepare two or three lectures and receive fees for their delivery. He will deliver them first in each of the public institutions for popular lectures in Boston, then in Roxbury and Charlestown, suburbs of Boston; he will next visit Salem, Lowell, Worcester, and Providence, by railroads, and by the close of the season, will have realised three or four hundred dollars, without having seriously interrupted his professional pursuits. Some lecturers of high reputation receive forty or fifty dollars for each lecture in the large cities. The instruction conveyed by this method, is comparatively small, but it cultivates intellectual tastes among the people; and it binds the higher and lower minds together by reciprocation of sentiment. To one accustomed to contemplate the indifference with which many of the aristocracy of Britain regard the masses of their countrymen, this effect of democratic institutions is highly pleasing. In Britain, Lord Brougham and Sir G. S. Mackenzie have delivered lectures to the people, but I have never observed

the names of other individuals of the same rank mentioned as having done so.

Oct. 23. Ther. 37°. *Pictures.*—We have seen some excellent pictures in private collections in Boston, by Allston, Stuart, and Newton. Allston's pictures are painted in the dark deep-shaded colors of the old Italian masters. He has produced both landscapes and figures. There appeared to me to be depth of mind in both, but in his landscapes there is a want of harmony in the coloring. We saw a large picture of Jeremiah dictating to an amanuensis the inspirations of the Holy Spirit. The eyes express the activity of the sentiment of the supernatural (the excitement of the organ of Wonder), but the figure is colossal and the attitude is firm and upright, expressive of the natural language of Firmness, Conscientiousness, and Self-esteem, as if he were about to defy a tyrant, rather than indite an inspired message. The eyebrows are horizontal, the forehead is calm, the muscles of the mouth express mental power, but without any peculiar character of emotion. With a slight change in the expression of the eyes, the picture might be called Cato addressing the Roman Senate, and the whole figure would be in harmony with the design. There is great talent, however, in the picture. There is power, depth, and also softness in the expression and coloring. The figure of the scribe is well executed.

*Use of Phrenology to Artists.*—Phrenology is calculated to be useful to artists in teaching them the principles and readier discrimination of natural language. Every faculty when roused into *predominant* activity, stamps on the eyes and features a mental expression peculiar to itself, and it produces also peculiar attitudes of the body. When several faculties are strongly excited at the same time, the expression and attitude are of a mixed character, but the peculiar influence of each faculty is still clearly discernible. There is nothing arbitrary or contradictory in the results. Artists who do not know these expressions individually, are liable to misunderstand their combinations. The sentiment of Wonder, for instance, when strongly excited, rises into a feeling of the supernatural, and this is intended to be the predominant emotion in Jeremiah, in the picture now described. It is accordingly accurately portrayed in the eyes; but the forehead, and mouth, and attitude, do not express it; yet, in nature, they would have been modified into harmony with it. The eyebrows would have been arched upwards, the mouth would have been open, and the head raised gently upwards and to the side, in the direction of the organ of Wonder.

When visiting the Royal Gallery of Paintings in Dresden in 1837, I saw several striking illustrations of these remarks. The head of Christ in the Last Supper by Carlo Dolce (No.



494 of the catalogue) strikingly expresses goodness, intelligence and internal suffering meekly endured. Christ stands before a table with the wine-cup and a roll of bread before him, and his eyes are turned upwards and gently outwards, in the direction of the organ of Wonder. They and his whole features radiate a profound expression of his holding intercourse with supernatural powers. When I visited the gallery, an artist was engaged copying this picture, but he had given the turned-up eyes a direction much more to the middle line (expressive of Veneration) than that given to them (upwards and outwards) in the original, and had consequently changed the expression into that of simple veneration.

In the same gallery (No. 62, Saal B. C.) is a picture by Titian, representing Christ answering the question: Whether it were lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar. The question was insidious, and the answer was not direct, but one in which *savoir faire* was employed with exquisite dexterity to defeat a nefarious design. The countenance, preserving all the intellectual power and moral dignity which become the character, says, in language which cannot be misunderstood, "You think to entrap me into sedition, but I see through your duplicity, and am still deeper than you." The forms of the head and features in the picture, are in strict accordance with this expression. They body forth deep reflection and *secretiveness*. The natural language of active Secretiveness is, compression of the mouth and eyes, and an expression of concealment thrown into the face; all which are strongly delineated by Titian.

This painting is extremely fine, but near it (No. 440,) is a copy of it, by one of Titian's pupils, Flamingo Torre, in which the expression of profound reflection is preserved, but that of Secretiveness is much diminished. An English artist had just finished a copy when we saw the picture, and he had omitted the secretive expression altogether. He had simply, and perhaps unintentionally, opened the eyes and removed the compression from the mouth, and the expression of this element of mental character was gone! I observed that the organ of Secretiveness was not largely developed in his own head, and it is probable that he did not *feel* the character of the expression alluded to, and possessed no philosophy which could guide him to a knowledge of it intellectually.

No. 552 of the same Gallery, is a head of Christ ascribed to an unknown artist. It gives him an expression of almost unmingled Self-esteem. He is represented as pert, confident, and aristocratic! It is probable that the painter mistook this for the natural language of moral greatness!

But to return to Boston. We saw a picture by Newton, of

Don Quixote with Amadis de Gaul lying on the table beside him. It is a work of great merit. The figure is, of course, tall, gaunt and lean, and the countenance long and sharp. But the artist has given him a high and narrow forehead, surmounted by an enormous organ of wonder, and he has blended the whole expression of the attitude and face into harmony with this combination. The eyes are turned up in the direction of the organ of "Wonder," and innumerable wrinkles, caused by its activity, and expressive of its quality, furrow the brow.

October 24. Thermometer 44°.—*Practical Phrenology.*—There are great numbers of "practical phrenologists" in the United States, and there are several now in Boston, men who examine heads and predicate characters for fees, and who are pretty extensively consulted. This practice, which in the eyes of the uninitiated, resembles palmistry, and fortune-telling, is said to have created a strong feeling of disgust against Phrenology itself, in the minds of men of science and education. This is unquestionably an evil; but on the other hand I have found here a phalanx of very superior persons, belonging, most of them, to the learned professions, who are excellent phrenologists, so far as the philosophy of mind is implied in the study, but who are very little acquainted with that department of it, which embraces the organs and their combinations in different relative proportions. They are theorists, while the former are altogether practical. The temperaments also are very little understood by my present audience.

*The Temperaments.*—We held a meeting in the lecture-room to-day, at ten o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of practical illustration. I exhibited four large drawings, representing respectively, the Nervous, Bilious, Sanguine and Lymphatic Temperaments, and described the effects of them on the general activity of the brain; and I added Dr. Thomas's theory of their formation as the best which has been offered. The persons who attended amounted to about sixty, three-fifths of whom were gentlemen, and two-fifths ladies. I first requested the company to tell my own temperament and its effects. This they readily did. The gentlemen were next requested to come to the platform, one at a time, and the company pronounced an opinion on their temperaments. At first, there was considerable discrepancy in the views stated; and in these cases, the expression of opinion was allowed to proceed, until some one announced the temperament, or combination of temperaments, which appeared to me to be correct. I then stated the reasons why this opinion was to be preferred, and requested those who had stated different views to assign reasons for them. In this way, instruction was given both to the eye, or rather to the

observing faculties, and to those of reflection. I called attention particularly to the leading facts, that where the brain was large, and the lungs (as indicated by the expansion of the chest) and the abdomen (which contains the digestive organs) were small, the Nervous temperament was present, accompanied by fine hair, a fine texture of the skin, great mental activity, and an aversion to muscular motion: that when the lungs were disproportionately large in relation to the brain and abdominal viscera, the Sanguine temperament was indicated by fair or reddish hair, blue eyes, and a ruddy countenance; and that this temperament was accompanied by a great love of muscular action, and also by mental activity, the latter, however, manifested in *action* rather than in study, thought or composition. So, also, when the abdominal region predominated over the brain and lungs, the Lymphatic temperament, characterised by an unwieldy figure, coarse fair hair, a sleepy eye, and a heavy inexpressive countenance, was present; and that then the cerebral action was low, and the mental faculties inactive. The company readily recognised these differences and their effects. The Bilious temperament, indicated by a dark skin, dark strong hair, a harshly expressed outline of the countenance, and a firm compact condition of the muscular system, was demonstrated, by living examples, and the difficulties regarding any satisfactory theory of its formation were stated. I hazarded the conjecture, that it might arise from the predominance of fibrin in the general texture of the system. The effects of it were explained to be, great powers of sustained action, either mental or corporeal, corresponding to the quality expressed by the word "bottom" when applied to horses. Among ten of the gentlemen, six presented the combination of the nervous and bilious temperaments; two or three presented the nervous, sanguine, and bilious; and scarcely in one was any trace of the lymphatic to be found.

The correspondence between these combinations, and the great activity by which the New Englanders are distinguished, was readily recognised.

The ladies next stood up, six or seven at a time, and their temperaments were predicated by the company. The combinations were essentially the same as those in the gentlemen, with a slight infusion of the lymphatic temperament, which is generally found to some extent in the female sex, and which gives to their figures that roundness of form which is so essential an element in beauty. In them, also, the temperaments are less strongly marked than in men.

These exercises excited much interest, and afforded a good deal of amusement. They served to convey a conviction of the truth and practical importance of the doctrine of the tempera-

ments, which no extent of mere reading could have produced. They afforded an opportunity, also, of showing the palpable absurdity of a statement which has made a great figure in the writings of the anti-phrenologists, namely, that the temperaments afford a back-door for escape when the phrenologist is pressed by a difficulty. I called their attention to the simple proposition, that in *the same individual* all the organs are under the *influence of the same temperament*, and that, therefore, the size of the organ determines their natural relative power. For instance: in one gentleman in whom the nervous temperament predominated, the observing organs were large, and those of reflection small; the high temperament rendered both sets of organs active, but the knowing organs were the more powerful, because they preponderated in size. In another, in whom the lymphatic temperament prevailed, the organs of Benevolence and Conscientiousness were large, and those of Veneration small. The low temperament rendered the whole brain inactive, but the feelings of Benevolence and Justice were more powerful than that of Veneration. The nervous temperament determines constitutional mental activity; the sanguine, constitutional mental and muscular activity combined; the bilious, constitutional capacity for sustained action; and the lymphatic, constitutional inactivity, both bodily and mental; but the temperaments afford no indication of the predominance of certain cerebral organs in the persons in whom they are found, which alone gives origin to distinctive natural mental qualities.

After practising for nearly an hour and a half, in discriminating the temperaments, almost every person present became capable of distinguishing them easily, and we proceeded to the examination of skulls and busts. I pointed out the method of distinguishing the relative proportions of the regions of the brain devoted to the animal propensities, to the moral sentiments, and to the intellectual faculties, and the company selected skulls and casts *ad libitum*, examined them, and pronounced an opinion on the relative dimensions of these parts. They were surprised at the extent of the differences, and at the facility with which they could be distinguished. These exercises continued till half-past 12, and the interest never flagged.

*Development of the Brain in the inhabitants of Boston.*—New England was peopled chiefly by individuals who left their native homes for the sake of enjoying religious liberty in their new abodes; and the cerebral organisation which such dispositions imply, appears to have descended to their posterity. In all countries which I have visited, I have remarked that the female head, although less in size, is more fully developed in the region of the moral sentiments, in proportion to the other

regions, than that of the male; and Boston presents no exception to the rule. Here the female head<sup>is</sup> in general beautifully developed in the moral and intellectual departments, and the natural language of the countenance is soft, affectionate, and rational. In the men, also, large moral and intellectual organs are very general; but Benevolence and Veneration are more frequently large than Conscientiousness. The cerebral organisation of this people, taking them all in all, appears really to have been enlarged in the moral and intellectual regions by long cultivation, added to the influence of a favorable stock.

On making this remark, however, to a friend, I was told that the persons who composed my class were the *elite* of the city, and above the average in attainments and talents. By going to a concert given by Madame Caradori Allan, to the theatre, to the courts of justice, to the churches, and other places of public resort, I became satisfied of the correctness of my friend's observation; but still I found a considerable predominance of the moral and intellectual regions, combined with the active temperaments already described, pervading the whole masses, and I consider this people naturally capable of rising to a high degree of civilisation.

*Police of Boston.*—The economy of the citizens of Boston is perceptible in the imperfect lighting of the town. The public lamps were not lighted this evening till the moon set; and as many of the streets are narrow, and the houses high, and the moon was only seven or eight days old, dark shadows obscured the way, and produced a melancholy gloom.

In the newspapers to-day, it is reported that yesterday evening, between 5 and 6 o'clock, a South Carolinian gentleman had some altercation with a gentleman of New York in the entry to this hotel (the Tremont House), and fired a pistol at him. The ball missed, and the offender was immediately apprehended and carried to the Police Court. We were in the hotel at the time, and at six o'clock sat down to tea at the table of the "ladies' ordinary," yet we never heard a word of the occurrence! It is said that a ball was found on the floor, but apparently it had dropped out of the pistol, for there was no mark on the wall, or any appearance of its having struck any object when fired. The offender is reported to be insane. He was admitted to bail on a recognisance of \$500, to take his trial at the next term of the Municipal Court, and, for want of it, was committed.

*The Voluntary Church.*—On the 4th of August 1838, Lord Brougham is reported to have stated, in his place in Parliament, that the Voluntary Church system has not answered in America. I have endeavored, by inquiries made of persons whom I conceived likely to be well-informed, to discover what inconve-

niences have attended it. The following circumstances have been mentioned to me as evils. The congregations, it is said, are adopting the practice of engaging their ministers for only three, five, or seven years, and then turning them adrift, if they are not satisfied. In the villages, also, there are so many churches that some of them languish.

I asked, whether the congregations act capriciously in dismissing their pastor, at the end of the stipulated engagement; and have been told, that they do not intentionally act capriciously; but that as the minister with whose services they have dispensed is occasionally found to be highly acceptable to a different congregation, this charge is made against them with a show of reason by those who differ from them in opinion.

It appears to me that this system of change, if generally adopted, would be attended with advantages, especially in the present condition of clerical instruction. Within less than seven years, most clergymen have exhausted their whole stock of ideas in preaching and ministering to their people, and although they continue their labors for forty years longer, they do not communicate a new view. By changing pastors, fresh minds would be brought to operate on the flocks, and a greater degree of energy would pervade the service. If rotation in churches prevailed, no minister of talent and industry would lack employment; for the vacancy made by the removal of one would be supplied by the call of another to fill his place.

In regard to the multiplication of churches, I remarked, that one of Dr. Chalmers's arguments in favor of an Establishment is, that men have no appetite for religion, and that, if left to themselves, they will neither build churches, nor endow pastors, but prefer remaining in heathenism. Here, however, we are assured, that, under the Voluntary system, "church extension" goes on too rapidly, and that pastors and churches are more numerous than flocks!

One instance, however, was mentioned to me of a clergyman suffering annoyance from a fearless discharge of his duty. The Rev. John Pierpont, a Unitarian pastor, a man of great talent, and of the purest morals, has preached too strongly against intemperance, and taken too active a part in the temperance cause, to suit the taste of his congregation, a large proportion of whom are distillers and retailers of spirituous liquors. These have taken offence, and on a recent vote to decide whether his letter in explanation of his conduct was satisfactory or not, fifty-eight proprietors of pews voted "yea," and forty-four "nay." This vote is an approval by a majority, and he continues his ministerial functions. This case shows, however, that under the Voluntary system a minister is not necessarily the slave of his con-

gregation, and that if instances to the contrary occur, the cause of them must be sought in the weakness of the individual who yields because he does not feel that self-sustaining power and independence which high endowments confer.

In answering my inquiries into their church affairs, some of my Boston friends asked me what objections were urged in Britain against the system of legal establishments for the support of religion. I mentioned a few: The established clergy in England and Scotland support unalterable articles of faith declared by ancient acts of Parliament to be true interpretations of the will of God, and important to salvation: They expel from their livings every one of their own number who presumes to express doubts of the infallible truths of any of these doctrines: They invite their flocks to search the Scriptures, to try all things, and to hold fast that which is good; but if, in following this advice, the flocks chance to arrive at conclusions different from those sanctioned by act of Parliament, they are charged with heresy, denied church privileges, and in private are stigmatised as "bad men." These articles and "Confessions of Faith," moreover, were framed at the very dawn of civilisation, when the arts and sciences, and the philosophy of the human mind, scarcely existed. Consequently some of the doctrines contained in them stand in direct contradiction to natural truth, while the entire scheme of theology which they propound is widely different from that which an extensive knowledge of mental and physical science applied to the interpretation of Scripture in the present day would probably dictate. The professors of these doctrines have the command of the parish schools, and of the universities, and to the extent of their ability they infuse their opinions into each generation as it comes on the stage: But mind cannot be arrested in its progress. Providence bestows on some individuals superior endowments of the moral and intellectual faculties, which lead their possessors into doubt on some points in spite of themselves. But those who are thus gifted have a choice only between two evils; either to renounce their livings and depart into the wilderness of *voluntarism*, as outcasts from the fold of the faithful, or to practise hypocrisy. The latter is sometimes preferred, although not without inward struggles. Some of these individuals may be heard praying publicly against "a wicked spirit of unbelief," which is constantly besetting them, and which is probably nothing but the natural operation of their own superior faculties spontaneously suggesting truth, and quietly whispering that some of the dogmas they teach are erroneous. Other individuals, in whom secretiveness is large, and conscientiousness deficient, feel quite at home in the regions of hypocrisy, and enjoy their legal salaries undisturbed by inward visitations.

Far from being the advocates of natural science and liberal education, many of the clergy oppose both, and insist that their peculiar articles of faith shall be combined with all public instruction at the expense of the state. They are placed in a false position, also, in relation to the enlightened portion of the laity, who, while they ostensibly adhere to the parliamentary articles of faith, privately disbelieve them, and, in consequence, while they accord an outward homage to the church, never lose an opportunity to thwart the schemes and defeat the views of the clergy. Conventional hypocrisy, likewise, is the refuge of the philosophers under the dominion of an established church. There is a tacit convention of mutual forbearance between them and the clergy: The clergy make no inquiries into their orthodoxy, and, in return, they leave the clergy to guide the masses in their own paths. The general effect of the system is to chain up the intellect, and paralyse the moral sentiments of the best minds in the highest department of human thought—theological and moral science.

It is objected also to legal establishments for the support of religion, that their natural tendency is to render the clergy indolent and negligent. The churches of England and Ireland present numerous examples of clergymen, who, although enjoying rich endowments, are never seen by their flocks. Indifference in the pastors is the parent of indifference and formality in the people. The “pride, pomp, and circumstance” of a state-establishment produce supercilious feelings in the favored clergy towards the pastors of all other sects; and the possession of legal power incites them to outrage the rights of conscience, by levying taxes from dissenters for the support of opinions which they disavow.

In the foregoing remarks on the voluntary and the legal systems, the abuses or worst features of both are stated and compared; while in the discussions which generally take place on these topics, all that is good in the one is contrasted with all that is bad in the other, a very unfair mode of treating the merits of either. There is much of good found in both. In point of fact, an able and conscientious minister in the voluntary church, unless in very peculiar circumstances, like those of Mr. Pierpont, soon rivets himself in the esteem and affections of his people, and is cherished by them for life; while a clergyman of the same character in the established church is equally beloved and respected by his flock. Good, able, and active men are safe and independent in both, in so far as mere emolument is concerned; but the establishment is a paradise, while the voluntary church is a howling wilderness, for incapacity, indolence, folly, dishonesty, and the minor vices. The chief difference in



the case of good and able men is, that, under the voluntary system, an individual of superior piety, talents, and attainments has it in his power to carry forward his flock to higher and purer views of Christianity, in proportion as these open up to his own mind (and he often does so in the United States); while his equal in the established church is tied down by the parliamentary articles of belief; he is the slave of them, and of his weaker brethren, who are ever ready to defend the bulwarks of ignorance and indolence under the guise of maintaining the purity of the faith, and to enforce the law of expulsion against any more gifted member, who would venture to remove one stone of the legal edifice. In America, as I formerly mentioned, the statute law of a state is occasionally revised; obsolete and repealed acts are omitted; altered statutes are remodelled into a connected and consistent form, and the whole laws are brought to harmonise, as much as possible, with the existing condition of the people: but the principles of infallibility and immutability are inherent in the nature of an established church. The state of human knowledge may change; opinion may change; political institutions may change; and generation may give way to generation, but the articles of faith, ratified and approved of by act of parliament never vary!\*

Oct. 26. Thermometer  $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . *National Skulls*.—To-day I visited Dr. Warren's collection of skulls in the medical college. It is large and valuable, embracing many specimens of crania of different nations; and these I found to correspond in their general forms and dimensions with the skulls of the same nations in the phrenological collection of Edinburgh. Dr. Warren showed me three skulls of an extinct people, picked up in the valley of the Mississippi. They strikingly resemble the Chinese skulls in the Edinburgh collection. The Rev. Dr. J. D. Lang, who has investigated the subject, considers it clear that America was peopled from the South Sea Islands; while Dr. Morton regards the native American Indians, as a distinct family of the human race, not referrible for their origin to any of the commonly acknowledged varieties. If numerous ancient skulls resembling these three should ultimately be found, they would strongly cor-

\* My British readers may regard the preceding statements, and others that may appear in these volumes about British affairs, unnecessary to be printed for their information. This is true, but the present work is intended to be read on the other side of the Atlantic, and in introducing these topics, I am guided by what I found to be interesting to the Americans. Many of the descriptions of institutions and incidents in their country, which interest British readers, are common-place topics to them, yet there is as much reason for omitting the one as the other. I write for both nations.

roborate Dr. Lang's opinion; but the skulls of the existing tribes favor Dr. Morton's views.

Dr. Warren possesses also several casts of skulls said to belong to a race of ancient Peruvians who preceded the present Inca family. They are exceedingly narrow and depressed in the forehead, and extend to an extraordinary length backward from the ear. In strange discord with this organisation we are told that this people manifested high intellectual qualities; that they were civilised, powerful, and the authors of magnificent architectural works, the ruins of which still attest their greatness. The question has often been asked how phrenologists reconcile these facts with their doctrines. At present we can give no answer on the facts as stated, except that we doubt their accuracy. Great ruins, and some extraordinary skulls, have been found in the same locality, and it has been assumed that these skulls, of which few have reached us, are fair average specimens of the crania of the builders of these works; and it is thence argued that phrenology cannot be true. The number of skulls hitherto exhibited, however, is so small, that it may be quite possible that they are *abnormal* specimens selected as curiosities on account of their odd appearance; and even if such skulls abound, how can we be certain that any of them belonged to the men who planned and superintended the execution of the works? An inferior and enslaved race may have labored under the direction of powerful minds.

It is a rule equally sound in philosophy as in law, that we should always obtain the best evidence possible of facts, before we form our judgment on the inferences to be deduced from them. On the one hand, then, we find that in all countries hitherto explored, a living head of which the circumference, taken a little higher than the orbit, does not exceed thirteen inches, while the distance from the top of the nose backwards, over the top of the head to the occipital bone, is less than nine inches, is, in the existing races of mankind, invariably accompanied by idiocy; that the skulls of the ancient Egyptians discovered in their tombs amidst the proud monuments of their greatness, belong to the Caucasian variety of mankind, and exhibit the same development of the intellectual organs which is found in the civilised Europeans of the present age who rival them in art; that in the ancient Greeks and Romans, whose histories are authentic, and whose busts and statues remain, intellectual greatness was concomitant with large dimensions in the forehead; that in modern Europeans the same concomitance is still observable; that the existing races of native American Indians show skulls inferior in their moral and intellectual development to those of the Anglo-Saxon race, and that, morally and

intellectually, these Indians are inferior to their Anglo-Saxon invaders, and have receded before them. These facts are tangible and authentic, they all harmonize, and go to support one conclusion, namely, that diminutive size in the anterior lobe of the brain is concomitant with feeble, and large size with great, intellectual powers.

If we place this evidence on the one hand; and the alleged facts concerning the ancient Peruvians on the other, only one of two conclusions can be logically adopted—either that the latter facts are erroneously or imperfectly observed; or that, in the case of the ancient Peruvians, nature has not followed the same law which she has adhered to in all other instances in which her operations have been most rigidly scrutinized. In the present state of our knowledge, I embrace the former opinion. The real value of the evidence afforded by these ancient Peruvian skulls will be best estimated by supposing the phrenological proposition of size being a measure of power, to be reversed, and that we had, on the strength of these skulls, maintained that deficiency in the anterior lobe is the cause and sign of mental *superiority*. How triumphantly would our opponents have cited existing facts in refutation of our theory, and pitied us for our imbecility in building our doctrines on such a defective basis!

One observation, however, it is important to keep in view, namely, that if these skulls have been artificially compressed, it may be possible that the intellectual organs existed in medium size in the brain, and were only displaced; just as the spine exists and performs its functions in persons afflicted with curvature, although part of it is out of its usual line. But this point cannot be determined without inspecting *brains*.

Oct. 27. Thermometer 41°. *Servants in New England.*—An American tourist relates the story of a domestic servant, who rose to be Colonel of a militia regiment, and in this capacity entertained his own master as a guest at a public dinner given by the regiment. I have heard the tourist blamed for publishing this anecdote, as the parties are still alive, but am assured that it is perfectly authentic, and that the servant, after entertaining in his capacity of colonel, his master and other gentlemen at table, descended to his station without having felt either elated or depressed, honored or degraded. He knew that such things result from the constitution of his country. Much has been said against the character of servants in the United States. We already perceive that a large proportion of the domestic “helps,” as they are called, are Irish, or Negroes; the number of Anglo-Americans employed in this capacity is small. So far as we can discover, there are several reasons for this fact. Service is not esteemed honorable among the Americans; and it is ill paid. The young

women engaged at the cotton-mills in Lowell earn larger wages, after paying for their board and lodging, than the female domestic servants of Boston. They prefer also working for twelve hours, and then being free from all restraint during the other twelve hours and on Sundays, to undergoing that constant superintendence which is inevitable in family service. But there are instances of American servants, both male and female, remaining in the same family for thirty or forty years, and making excellent "helps." They must be well paid, and treated with consideration. If a master or mistress be selfish, unreasonable, and unmannerly, their domestics refuse to bear with their humors, and leave them.

*Future prospects of the United States.*—It has been my object, in meeting men of enlarged knowledge, experience, and understanding, to discover the views entertained by them regarding the prospects of the United States. It is only by hearing and comparing opinions, and the reasons of them, that a stranger can obtain elements for forming judgments of his own on a country which he visits. I am informed, then, that the political changes in England are studied here with great interest, and that the intimate connection between the prosperity of the two countries is well understood by all classes of the people of New England. The late conflicts between the dissenters and the established church in Britain, have attracted attention. One highly intelligent friend expressed his expectation that the Church of England would fall in five years: I allowed fifty years for the accomplishment of his hopes. The opinion is pretty general that the future seat of government of the United States must be in the west, and that the future destinies of the Union will depend on the degree in which moral and intellectual shall keep pace with physical development. The facilities of realizing wealth in the countries watered by the Ohio and Mississippi are so great, that there is danger that a sordid spirit of money-getting may take possession of the people to such an extent as to render wealth the sole criterion of consideration, to the neglect of mental culture; and in such an event, that inequality of fortune with which England is afflicted, would arise, and a depressed common people would be called into existence. If this were to be the case, and if these degraded beings were left in possession of political power (which could not be prevented), intestine commotions, quarrels between the states, disunion, and ruin, would be the probable fate of America. The best minds have confidence in the natural harmony between the interests of all the states, when justice pervades the councils of all; and also reliance on the power of their republican institutions, if aided by education, to preserve the mass of the people in virtue and comforta-

ble circumstances, if they can only succeed in making instruction keep pace with wealth and numbers. Even the rich men here speak with approbation of the law which distributes the paternal property equally among the children. They say that it presents a powerful obstacle to the overgrowth of families, and that they do not know any family that has continued in possession of extraordinary wealth for three generations. The very principle of division reduces the largest fortunes when twenty or thirty grandchildren come to inherit them. The same law renders it more easy for men of superior moral and intellectual qualities to emerge from poverty to wealth. Several such have been pointed out to me, who, having distinguished themselves by their virtues and talents, have married daughters of rich families, and eventually risen to the first stations in the commonwealth. Several clergymen are in excellent circumstances by this means. In Britain, the parents of these young ladies would have watched for the hand of some younger son of a noble or aristocratic family, whose poverty needed their fortunes, and who gave them rank in exchange for wealth. In America, nature's nobility is preferred, and amidst the trials and vicissitudes of life, high mental qualities are found a surer stay for happiness than artificial rank. The prospects of the family also are superior. Natural gifts, if possessed by both parents, descend to posterity; artificial rank vanishes in descendants, and leaves no substitute in its place.

*Aristocracy in America and England.*—It has frequently been stated as a charge against the Americans, that they recognise no aristocracy except that of wealth. I find that here, as well as in other countries, men possessed of great wealth, and those who have a strong desire for it, without being able to boast of any superior moral or intellectual qualities or attainments, estimate their neighbors by the extent of their possessions; and they assure me that this is the only criterion of superiority acknowledged by society—that dollars are indispensable to the acquisition of influence or consideration. But, on the other hand, I perceive that those individuals who are endowed with high moral and intellectual faculties, extensively cultivated, estimate their fellow-citizens by the degree in which they possess these attributes, and some men are spoken of with the highest love and admiration, whose greatness is mental, and not pecuniary. Mr. Daniel Webster, the greatest political character of Massachusetts, is not rich.

British travellers who blame the Americans for worshipping an aristocracy of wealth, appear to me to forget the practice at home. In Britain all the aristocracy who are worshipped by the inferior ranks are rich, most of them very rich; and to the

best of my observation, when a noble family has sunk into poverty, the members of it receive less respect from their own rank, and certainly far less homage from their inferiors, than are offered to those whose possessions are large. In regard to the untitled aristocracy of Britain, their station and influence depend almost entirely on their wealth. When they become poor, they sink at once into obscurity. Thomas Moore the poet, a man of genius, and of great refinement of taste and manners, who has associated much with the aristocracy of England, observes (if I recollect rightly), in his *Life of Sheridan*, that the possession of political power alone forms a passport to men of plebeian birth into the ranks of the high aristocracy, on a footing of equality; and that, although men of talent in other departments of life may be admitted to associate among them, they are never permitted to become as one of them, or words to this effect. When I read this observation many years ago, I considered the fact to be degrading to genius and virtue, and whatever faults may be chargeable against the Americans in this respect, I cannot perceive that we have much reason to boast of superiority at home.

*Elections.*—So far as I can learn, candidates for offices in the state do not travel from door to door and canvass for votes in Massachusetts, as I have seen them do in Scotland. They are here on the eve of an annual election, and ward meetings have been called by each of the political parties in the city; these choose delegates to represent them, and the delegates from all the wards assemble and prepare a list of candidates to be proposed to their party, as proper persons to fill the vacant offices. These lists are named “tickets.” The whig ticket and the democratic ticket are announced in the newspapers of the respective parties, and the one is supported and the other depreciated, by all the facts, arguments, and wit, and I fear also by all the inventions, falsehoods, and calumnies, which the talents and industry of each party can bring to bear on the merits of their own candidates, and the demerits of those on the other side. We may regret the departures from truth, courtesy, and honor, which these contests often evoke in the public press, but all who have mingled in public life must be well aware that similar practices disgrace the press of Britain in no limited degree. The voters are registered, and the city and counties are divided into districts of convenient dimensions, in each of which a polling place is fixed and publicly announced. The voters repair to these stations on the day of election; each announces his name to the officer in charge of the register; if it is found there, the voter passes to the ballot-box, in which he deposits his printed list or “ticket,” and retires. Numerous partisans of each side

attend, who check any attempts at voting under false names. No man can vote twice, because he is checked off in the register when he first appears. The "ticket" is not subscribed by the voter, because this would betray the secret of his vote; but his hand is pretty strictly looked at to see that he does not deposit two or more "tickets" in the box. At the close of the election, the tickets are examined, and a statement of the votes made up by officers appointed for the purpose, and those candidates are chosen who have *a majority of all the voters in their favor*. If an individual voter is not satisfied with the "ticket" of his party, he may erase any names from it he pleases, and add others. As there is generally no concert among those who make these alterations, they very rarely elect their own candidates." The only effect of their proceeding is to weaken the vote of their party. These votes are regarded as thrown away, and technically are said to be "scattered." Occasionally there are three or more "tickets," each containing a different list of candidates; and if each of these lists is presented in nearly equal numbers, the result will be no election. Each list will be supported by only one-third or less of the voters; and as by law a majority of the whole is essential to an election, none of the candidates will be elected. A new election on a future day is, in these cases, announced. I am assured that "intimidation" of voters in the English sense of the word, is unknown, and would, if attempted, be deeply resented and successfully resisted. The vote of every man is known to his party, and although every individual has it in his power to conceal it, few or none have any desire to do so. There is no commotion or hostile excitement at the elections.

October 28. Thermometer 44°. *The Sailors' Church*.—This day I went to hear the Rev. Mr. Taylor of the Sailors' Church preach. He had a numerous audience of sailors of various nations, and also a portion of the ordinary citizens of Boston. The seamen occupy the pews in the middle of the area of the church, which are all free. The citizens occupy the side pews. His text was in Romans x, 1, "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved." His temperament is bilious-nervous; the anterior lobe of his brain is long and high, but not broad. Eventuality, Comparison, and Causality, are large. Benevolence, Imitation, and Firmness, are large. He was a seaman himself, and has not received a regular theological education; but there is genius in him. He is a bold, upright, benevolent, shrewd, and sensible man; indefatigable in exertion, and generally beloved. He produces a powerful impression in preaching, by his originality, good sense, earnestness, and eloquence. His oratory is of a peculiar cha-

racter; it is full of imagery of the boldest description, drawn chiefly from nautical affairs; and it makes a deep impression on the sailors. They sat with ears, eyes, and mouths open, as if spell-bound, in listening to him. I wrote down the following passages of his discourse from memory immediately on going home. They are inferior to the originals, but are not caricatured, or intentionally colored in any respect. He described "a ship at sea, bound for the Port of Heaven, when the man at the lead sung out "rocks a-head." "Port the helm," cried the mate. "Aye, aye, sir," was the answer; she ship obeyed and stood upon a tack. But in two minutes more the lead indicated a shoal. The man on the out-look sung out "Sand-banks and breakers a-head." The captain was now called, and the mate gave his opinion, but, sail where they could, the lead and the eye showed nothing but dangers all round; sand-banks, coral reefs, sunken rocks, and dangerous coasts. The chart shewed them clearly enough where the Port of Heaven lay; there was no doubt about its latitude and longitude; but they all sung out that it was impossible to reach it: there was no fair way to get to it. My friends, it was the devil who blew up that sand-bank, and sunk these rocks, and set the coral insects to work; his object was to prevent that ship from ever getting to Heaven, to wreck it on its way, and to make prize of the whole crew for slaves for ever. But just as every soul was seized with consternation, and almost in despair, a tight little schooner hove in sight; she was cruising about with one Jesus, a pilot, on board. The captain hailed him, and he answered that he knew a fair way to the port in question. He pointed out to them an opening in the rocks, which the largest ship might beat through, with a channel so deep that the lead could never reach the bottom, and the passage was hand-locked the whole way, so that the wind might veer round to every point in the compass, and blow hurricanes from them all, and yet it could never raise a dangerous sea in that channel! What did the crew of that distressed ship do, when Jesus showed them his chart, and gave them all the bearings. They laughed at him, and threw his chart back in his face. "He find a channel, where *they* could *not*! Impossible!"—and on they sailed in their own course; and every soul of them perished!" He told them that when men offer wholesome advice to others, and try to save them from their sins, they are constantly maltreated for their pains. "This same Paul (who wrote the Epistle to the Romans)," said he, "found the people of Ephesus worshipping a piece of silver which they called the goddess Diana, and he told them that it was a mere graven image. What did they do? Why, there was among them a fellow named Demetrius, whose trade



was to make shrines for that image, and he said to Paul, 'Paul you shall hold your tongue. We know well enough that Diana is a great goddess, and if you don't go about your own business, we will do for you.' Paul said, that 'he did not care; he would tell them the truth, as it was his duty to do, and they might do as they pleased.' They soon showed him what they would do. They mobbed him! and if he had stayed much longer within their reach, they would have lynched him. This is always the way men act towards those who would turn them from their sins."

*Popular Lectures.*—There is no class of idle men in the United States, and I am assured that there is scarcely an example in Boston, of one individual in possession of wealth who is idle. The men who have realised an independence, either continue in trade or devote themselves to public business. It is calculated that six thousand persons attend lectures in Boston every winter, and, as formerly mentioned, men of talent of all ranks and professions appear before the people as lecturers. The subscription for a gentleman and two ladies to a lecture once a-week, from October to April, delivered at the Odeon, formerly the theatre, under the patronage of the directors of the lyceum, is \$2; and generally 1500 persons attend. The Franklin Society gives a lecture once a-week during the winter season, and the subscription is half a dollar each person for the whole. Dr. W. E. Channing gives the first lecture this season for this society, and I have agreed to deliver the second. Mr. J. S. Buckingham has promised them the third. In Salem, a town of 16,000 inhabitants, about 13 miles from Boston, there are 1200 subscribers to the lyceum lectures at \$2 each for the season. Mr. Catlin lectures to them this week on his Indian Gallery. His audience is so large, that he repeats each lecture; the lecture-room being capable of accommodating only one-half of them at a time.

October 29. Therm. 32°. *Temperance.—The License-law.*—The Temperance question is keenly debated here at present, and already it has assumed a political form. The staunch opponents of the license-law refuse to vote for any representative to the legislature, unless he pledge himself to endeavor to get that law repealed. There are many of these among the Whig party. The friends of temperance do not, in general, carry their principles so far. They do not all refuse to vote for a representative although hostile to the law, if he be, in other respects, well qualified for his duties as a legislator. This has made a split in the ranks of both of the political parties. There are Whig license-law men, and anti-license-law men, and the same among the Democrats. Public meetings are held almost every

evening in the churches, at which the merits of the license-law, and whole question of temperance, are debated with great energy and talent, before large audiences. Each party is heard in turn, and perfect order is preserved.

October 30. Therm. 30°. *Phrenology*.—This morning at ten o'clock, I met my class, and gave them practical instructions in observing the relative size of the organs in busts and skulls. Several busts and skulls having the organs marked were presented to them. They formed themselves into parties of three or four, and took a skull or bust from the collection, examined each organ in succession, and wrote down their opinions of its size. These were revised by me, and corrected, if they appeared to be erroneous. About seventy individuals attended, and engaged in this exercise, and after attentive observation, accompanied by a real desire to discern, they were gratified to find that it is quite possible to distinguish, not only the situation of the organs, but the relative dimensions of many of them, on ordinary skulls. In the few introductory remarks which I made, I reminded them that they find no difficulty in distinguishing between a comma and a period; between the point and the head of a pin, and between the eye and the solid part of a needle, and that the superficies of the smallest phrenological organ in an ordinary head, is equal to that of at least five hundred of these minute objects. I also presented to them several casts of the heads of idiots, requested them to measure them, and remarked, that in the lowest class of idiots, in whom the intellectual manifestations are nill, the horizontal circumference, taken a little higher than the orbit, varies from 11 to 13 inches. while the distance from the root of the nose backwards, over the top of the head, to the occipital spine, is only between 8 and 9 inches. Finally, I instructed them how to distinguish the size of the regions of the animal propensities, of the moral sentiments, and of the intellect, and presented casts of the heads of virtuous men, which they contrasted according to these rules, with those of executed criminals. The practising lasted for three hours, and was conducted with much interest by the class.

If Phrenology be a delusion, as some men are still pleased to maintain it to be, it must be a strange one; for we afford our opponents the best means of refuting us, by publicly teaching them our art of observation, by furnishing them with hundreds of specimens, and bringing them into contact with Nature herself! On the 16th of February, 1838, the Rev. James Walker, D.D., delivered a lecture on Phrenology, before the Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in which he brought forward many objections against it, and in which, as I am informed, he uttered a whole series of mistakes. But this gentleman did not

avail himself of this opportunity of learning how to refute it in the best manner, by a direct appeal to facts. He has since been elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Harvard University at Cambridge.

Oct. 31. Therm. 34°. *The Supreme Court.*—It snowed all this morning, but the snow melted as it fell. I attended in the United States' Supreme Court, Judge Story on the bench, to hear Mr. Webster address a jury in a case of marine insurance, but he and the other counsel were engaged all day in examining witnesses and discussing points of law. Neither the judge nor counsel wear gowns, wigs, or any other insignia of office; yet they are treated with as much respect as if they were clothed in horse hair and ermine. The same individuals act both as solicitors and as barristers; but when a man shows distinguished talents for the department of pleading, he generally assumes a partner, who devotes himself to the proper business of a solicitor. Mr. Webster, for instance, practises in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and in the Supreme Court of the United States, at Washington, as a senior counsel does at the Scottish Bar in Edinburgh, and in the House of Lords in London, as a court of appeal. Here the witnesses are allowed to remain in court, and to listen not only to the pleadings of the counsel, but to the examination of the other witnesses, and even to discussions between the counsel and the bench as to the competency of putting certain questions to themselves. For cause shown, the judge will remove them from the court, if required by either party to do so; but the general practice is to allow them to hear all the proceedings. In Scotland, witnesses are provided with a separate room, in which they remain till called for to undergo examination themselves, that each may be unbiassed by any thing that may have occurred in court. Another object of isolating them is, to prevent collusion among them. As no one has heard what the others have said, each gives his independent testimony, and if they concur, the conviction of the truth of their statements becomes the stronger. If they differ widely, the court and the counsel, who have heard all that has been testified, enjoy advantages for testing their veracity by putting searching questions.\* I saw a ludicrous example of the effect of allowing witnesses to be present in court before they are themselves examined. An Irish sailor was called up, who had listened attentively to the opening speeches of the counsel, and to the examination of several witnesses on the opposite side. He had construed every word that had been uttered, both in the speeches and in

\* While I was in the United States, a bill passed through Parliament to relax, in some particular points, the Scots Law of Evidence.

the evidence, as so many attacks *against his side*, and he set himself fairly to the duty of answering them. When placed in the witnesses' box and sworn, and asked a question, he did not answer it directly, but launched out into bold declarations that such a statement, made by such a witness, was false, and that another had uttered a misrepresentation, and then began to tell his own story, and to enforce his own views of the facts by declamation. The counsel of both sides interrupted him, and the judge explained his duty; but after the next question that was put to him, he started off again in the same career. He had a rich Irish brogue, and great volubility of speech, and withal was acute and *naïfe*. He convulsed the spectators with laughter, and at length fairly upset the gravity of lawyers, judge, and every one in court. Judge Story did his best to recover his gravity, and addressed first the spectators, informing them that there was a native eccentricity about the Irish in expressing their ideas, which every one was aware of, and that it was unbecoming to disturb a court of justice by laughing at the witness' mode of delivering his testimony, and then he explained to the witness himself, that his duty was to confine himself to direct answers to the questions asked. Another attempt was made to proceed with his examination, but still with imperfect success. At length a discussion arose about the competency of some question. I heard Mr. Webster state his views, but as the court was excessively crowded, highly heated with stoves, and destitute of ventilation, I was forced, by the unpleasant state of the atmosphere, to retire before the examination was resumed. Mr. Webster's mind is profound and powerful, and a great subject is necessary to rouse him to show his might. The discussions in the present cause were not of this description.

November 1. Thermometer 24°. *The Weather*.—Winter has now fairly commenced, but we are assured that it is six weeks earlier than usual, and that we may still enjoy what is called the Indian summer, or calm, mild, dry weather, in which the sun shines without clouds the whole day, but in which a gentle haze pervades the sky, from the very stillness of the atmosphere. This is said to be the most delicious season of the year in the United States.

*Boston Common Schools*.—I visited several of the common schools to-day. In the Appendix to this volume, and the preceding chapters, I have explained the educational machinery of this commonwealth. Its plan and general structure are excellent; but it is capable of much improvement. Its present condition, compared with that which it is susceptible of attaining, is like that of a wooden clock contrasted with a chronometer. The schools are supported by assessment, and are free to every white

child who chooses to attend. The colored children are educated separately. This practice serves to maintain that odious distinction of color which is so unbecoming in a country boasting of its Christian spirit. The school-houses consist of several floors. The head-master, who superintends the whole, receives a salary of \$1500 per annum; there is a male assistant for each floor, who receives \$600 per annum; and a female assistant, who receives \$250. The children between four and seven years of age, form the lowest class, and they are taught by a female. Wilderspin's system of infant education is not practised, and the instructions given to these children is chiefly in spelling, reading, and reciting. At seven, the child is admitted to a higher class, where grammar, a little geography, writing, and arithmetic, are taught. Singing has been recently introduced, and with much advantage. It relieves the monotony of the other studies, affords gratification to the children, and serves to cultivate a taste for refined and innocent pleasure. In one school, the children were requested to sing and to select their own song. They chose "I love my native land," and sang it with great zest, and good execution. The sentiments savored a good deal of Self-Esteem, like the patriotic songs of old England. I was glad to observe, however, sentiments of Benevolence and Justice towards other nations introduced into the last verse.

Mrs. Minot, a lady of Boston, distinguished for her enlightened zeal in education, is endeavoring to introduce drawing into these schools. She attends an hour a week in one of them, and gives lessons in drawing to the children. They are delighted with the exercise, and it is to be hoped that her success will induce the committees who manage these seminaries to make it a part of the general system of instruction.

There is also an English High School, in which grammar, history, book-keeping, and the elements of some of the physical sciences are taught, and a Latin Grammar-School, which, in 1836, was attended by 250 scholars. These schools are also free.

Many of the school-rooms are deficient in ventilation, the consequences of which are headache, loss of appetite, and irritability in such of the teachers as do not enjoy exceedingly robust constitutions; and drowsiness in the children, in the latter portion of each meeting, when the air is particularly foul. In the morning, when the children come fresh to school, they look healthy, cheerful, and well dressed; but "words" form the staple of the instruction, to the too great neglect of objects. Improvement in the things taught, as well as in the modes of teaching, advances slowly, not through want of good intention in the members of

the school committees, but from attachment to old customs, and lack of knowledge of better modes than those now existing.

*The power of the people exceeds their educational attainments.*—The institutions and actual condition of the people of the United States exhibit at present a heterogeneous aspect to a reflecting mind. The institutions are democratic in a high degree, for, with a few exceptions, political power is placed in the hands of every man above twenty-one years of age, except he be absolutely insane, a pauper, or a convicted felon, without regard to his wealth, character, or mental attainments. This is not merely a theoretical arrangement on paper, but a practically working system. In point of fact, the masses make and unmake the laws, and every interest of the state is placed at their discretion. One ignorant man is not a fit ruler for a great nation; nor are ten ignorant men, or a thousand, or ten millions, of ignorant men, more fit to wield successfully the destinies of a great people than one. Numbers do not increase their knowledge, while they add to their confidence and power. Moreover, numbers increase their capacity for evil, and diminish it for good, because they keep each other's ignorance and presumption in countenance. The people become formidable, also, in the fierceness and energy of their passions, in proportion to their numbers, when one common impulse moves them.

These points are so plain, that it is almost unnecessary to state them. Nevertheless, I daily meet with excellent persons here, who seem not to perceive their consequences. Education, history, and habit, and, above all, the daily example of Europe, have filled their minds with the idea of a laboring-class, for whom instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, with moral and religious training, are all that is necessary, and a dominant class whose education should be more extensive, to fit them for higher duties; overlooking the palpable fact, than in Europe the better educated class rules the less instructed, while in the United States the more ignorant governs the more enlightened.

I have seen men of sense and understanding here regard my views as obviously Utopian and absurd, when I ventured to express the opinion that both the quantity and quality of instruction communicated in the common schools of the United States, and even in Boston, is fitted much more for a government like that of Austria, than for that of the United States! The Austrian government does not object to its subjects being taught reading, writing, arithmetic and geography, because these are only the elements of knowledge, and do not necessarily imply any practical results in action.

The democratic institutions of the United States are only now beginning to develop themselves. The generation of 1775 was trained under a monarchy, and they had the feelings and habits of Englishmen. When their independence was achieved, their mental condition was not instantly changed. Their deference for rank and for judicial and legislative authority, continued nearly unimpaired; George Washington took the place of George the Third, and the public authorities elected by themselves, came as objects of respect, in place of those named by the English governors. The leading men of each state suggested or proposed candidates for public offices, and the people, as a general rule, adopted them. In this state of things the best educated class continued to rule. But the condition of affairs is now changed. The generation trained to obedience under monarchical institutions is extinct; a race occupies the field which has been reared under the full influence of democracy. The people worship themselves, as the fountains equally of wisdom and of power. They bend all institutions in subserviency to their views and feelings. They are no longer led by, but they often dictate to, the wealthy and highly educated. Their own education, however, remains essentially unchanged; reading, writing, and arithmetic are its staple, as in the days of yore!

This is an error of the most portentous magnitude, and it is astonishing how so many persons remain blind to it. There are still living a few remnants of the old federalists, who desire to see the people happy and contented as laborers, but who are as averse to their thorough education as an English tory would be in similar circumstances. These worthy men forget that their dreams of popular felicity combined with ignorance can never be realised in this country, for the people have obtained power, and they love to wield it. The education provided for them, therefore, in their common schools, should be the most instructive and practical that human wisdom can devise; for here the masses need every possible light to enable them to discern their true interests in the management of the state. Their governors and legislators are their deputies, and must obey them. Men of great minds may no doubt lead the masses, although ignorant, to good; but in proportion to that ignorance is the risk that bad men of powerful talents will lead them to evil.

It is gratifying, however, to perceive that a large number of enlightened individuals are deeply imbued with the convictions, and are laboring to render them general. Still they have a mighty task to accomplish, before they prevail in reducing them to practice. It is an unpalatable statement to thousands in Bos-

ton, that their common schools are far below what their institutions require, and that in many parts of the country the condition of the seminaries is still more defective; but the truth, however disagreeable, must be proclaimed.

Nov. 2. Thermometer 34°. *Phrenology*.—I gave another lesson to my class in practical phrenology; the attendance was larger than at any of the previous practical meetings.

*Tremont Theatre*.—We went to the theatre in the evening, to attend Mr. J. Wallack's benefit. The house is large in proportion to the population of Boston. It is elegant and convenient in form, quite modern, and handsomely fitted up. The pit is occupied entirely by males; the ladies resort exclusively to the boxes. The house was filled and the acting good. The theatre is not successful here. The law prohibits performances on the Saturday evenings; and between lectures and churches, the public are provided with cheap excitement on the other days of the week, so that with many the inducement to attend the theatre is much diminished. Religious scruples also prevent many persons from frequenting it.

*Mr. J. S. Buckingham* has been lecturing on Palestine and Egypt in Boston, to an audience said to amount to 800. I see, however, that the newspapers report the attendance at my own lectures to be at least double the truth, and probably his numbers also are exaggerated; but I hear that his audience is large, and that his lectures have excited much interest.

Nov. 3. Thermometer 38°. *Charlestown Lunatic Asylum*.—To-day I visited this asylum, which is under the superintendence of Dr. Luther V. Bell. The situation, on a gentle eminence, with a fine open prospect, is excellent. The ventilation is perfect. There are apertures above the doors of the patients' rooms, and also ventilating chimneys for each room. The order and cleanliness could not be surpassed, but there appeared to me to be too little provision for labor in the open air. I examined the heads of some of the patients. In several who labored under disease chiefly of a single faculty (monomaniacs), the organ which corresponded with their hallucinations or impulsive tendencies, was found to be large; but in others this was not the case. This is exactly what had been previously observed and published in phrenological works. Large organs, *cæteris paribus*, act with more energy than small organs. They are more liable from their large size to pass beyond the normal state, and enter into a state of functional excitement; but small organs also may become diseased from other causes, and may give the character to the monomania.

*The Elections*.—I have repeatedly made inquiries about the private machinery put in operation previously to the elections,



and am informed that it is the following. The towns and counties are divided into districts; each political party appoints a committee for each district to canvass the voters. They converse with them about the merits of the candidates presented on their "ticket," and persuade them to come to the poll and vote on their side. Money is subscribed by the wealthy members of each party to defray the expense of printing addresses, advertisements, rooms for meetings, and even for carriages to convey the infirm to the poll, at each election. The numbers who vote are about one-half or two-thirds of all who are entitled to claim to come to the poll, unless on some exciting occasions, when almost every individual can be brought forward. The lawyers take a great lead in politics; but the clergy and the medical men generally take no active part. Individuals among them may do so; but they are exceptions to the general rule. Those who know the movements of political machinery in Britain, will acknowledge that there is much resemblance in this respect between it and the United States. I am assured that the ballot, in this country, affords no protection to the voter. It is perfectly well known how every man votes; and there is no intimidation, because any man threatening another with any injurious consequences for not voting as he wished him, would be publicly disgraced. The politicians consider that we attach too much importance to the ballot in Britain, and assure me that it would not screen the voter, as we expect. They, however, do not know the condition of abject dependence of many of the British voters, nor the violence that is practised on their consciences; and overlook the indulgence with which intimidators are regarded in Britain.

## CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Pierpont's Church—Home Education—Juvenile Association for the Suppression of Profanity—House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders—Dr. Channing's Lecture "on the Elevation of the Laboring Portion of the Community"—Dr. Channing's Appearance—North American Indian Crania—The State Prison at Charlestown—Mr. Webster—The Legal Profession in Britain and Massachusetts—Sir W. Scott and the Ballantynes—Practical Phrenology—Religion in the United States—Religious Freedom in Prussia—Election in the State of New York—Insanity and Criminal Jurisprudence—Extraordinary Talent for Languages—Anniversary of Dr. Spurzheim's Death—House-keeping—Museum at Salem—Unitarian Church there—The House of Correction—Criminal Jurisprudence—Human Responsibility as affected by Phrenology—The Elections—Affection of the Faculty of Language—Phrenology—Female Education in Massachusetts—Dr. Spurzheim's Skull and Brain—Effects of Exercise in improving the Dispositions.

1838.

Nov. 4. Thermometer 53°. *Mr. Pierpont's Church.*—We went this afternoon to the Rev. Mr. Pierpont's church, and heard him preach an excellent sermon. The dissatisfaction of part of his congregation with his exertions in the temperance cause has diminished the numbers who attend his ministrations. It also rained horribly, which in Boston thins all audiences.

*Home Education.*—In visiting a friend this evening, an influential man, we found that he entertains very enlightened views regarding what constitutes education, and what is necessary to be done in improving it, for the true interest of the United States. He advances the instruction of his sons in a way at once simple, agreeable and efficacious. In the evening after tea, when the family are enjoying the quiet comfort of the winter fireside, he desires one of his sons to read from the daily newspaper the list of ships which have arrived in the port of Boston; it specifies the places from which they have come, and the nature of the cargo. He then asks one to point out the place in the map, and to tell the latitude and longitude; another is requested to assign a reason why it brings that particular cargo from that port. This leads to an explanation of the climate, soil, and natural productions of that part of the globe; this is often followed up by details concerning the religion, government, manners and customs of the people. They learn

a great deal of useful and interesting information in these conversations, which also give them a perception of the real value of their geographical and historical studies at school.

November 5. Ther. 57°. *Common Schools*.—I visited a common school to-day, and found it like the others which I had seen. A book of mechanical and natural philosophy is used in these schools, embracing Astronomy, Pneumatics, Electricity, and Optics; but the children are taught from this book without any previous instruction in chemistry or natural history, and besides, the school committees do not furnish the teachers with an efficient apparatus for illustrating the subjects of which it treats. I found the children all in one room, and every variety of lessons proceeding at the same moment. The children were requested to sing a song of their own selection, and again they favored us with "I love my native land the best."

*Juvenile Association for the Suppression of Profanity*.—I visited also the "Hawes Common School" in South Boston, and found one peculiar institution. The children have been formed into "An Association for the Suppression of Profanity," which the teacher said had been eminently successful in banishing not only oaths, but rude language and violence from the school. The organisation of the association is very similar to that of a temperance society. It has a president, vice-president, secretary, and a standing committee, elected every three months. The teacher kindly presented me with a printed copy of "an Address," delivered by one of the boys, George A. Stevens, at the public annual exhibition of the male department of the school, on 23d August 1837. It is highly creditable to the young gentleman's talents. "The members of the society," he says, "wish to begin life with fair prospects. We believe it to be important to gain the mastery over our tongues; and to aid us in so doing, to excite us to watchfulness, we have formed this association."—"The society has a pledge which its members sign, and a constitution by which all its proceedings are regulated."

Article 5 of the constitution provides, that "any member who shall be known to be guilty of profanity may be indicted by the standing committee, and expelled or suspended, or otherwise punished at the discretion of the society."

Article 6. "Profane swearing shall be divided into two classes. In the first class there shall be comprehended the use of the name of 'God,' or the 'Saviour,' together with that of 'damn' or its compounds, and 'hell' and its compounds. In the second class shall be included all other words which may indirectly come under the title of profane; such as 'curse,' 'devil,' and their compounds, of which the society shall judge."

The form of initiation is not published.

This society, in addition to its moral influence, trains children to the practice of public business, an object of importance in a country where every man, after attaining twenty-one years of age, becomes an influential member of the social body.

*House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders.*—We next visited this institution in South Boston. Every person who has attended to criminal legislation in Britain, must have remarked, that the law inquires only into the facts, “whether a crime has been committed, and to what extent;” and then assigns a punishment intended to bear a proportion to the magnitude of the offence; but that no investigation takes place into the particulars—What was the cause of the crime? What effect will the punishment produce on the offender? What influence will it exercise on society? If a child commit a petty theft, the law awards confinement in prison for twenty or thirty days; the effects of which are to destroy the character of the culprit, to blunt his feelings, and to remove from his mind all terror of the law, by rendering him thus early familiar with its power; and as if to school him into crime, it deals gently with him at first, giving him only a delicate experience of its lash, and often, by placing him in the society of more accomplished rogues, educates him to more extensive depredations. The want of houses of refuge for such offenders has been generally experienced; and in several cities such institutions have been instituted and supported by charitable donations. The state of the criminal law, however, has presented great obstacles to their success; for as it awards confinement in prison for a definite number of days as a punishment, and makes do adequate provision for the reformation of its victims, it leaves these houses of refuge without legal power, or means, to correct offenders, or to prevent them from falling again into crime. In Boston this branch of public police stands on a better foundation.

An act of the legislature was passed on the 4th March 1826, entitled “an Act concerning Juvenile Offenders in the City of Boston,” which provides as follows:—

Sec. 1. Gives power to the City Council of Boston to erect a suitable building in the city “for the reception, instruction, employment, and reformation of such Juvenile offenders as are hereinafter named.”

Sec. 2. Provides that the directors of the house “shall have power, at their discretion, to receive and take into said house all such children who shall be convicted of criminal offences, or taken up and committed under and by virtue of an Act of this Commonwealth ‘for suppressing and punishing of rogues, vagabonds, common beggars, and other idle, disorderly, and lewd

persons,' and who may, in the judgment of any justice of the supreme judicial, the municipal, or the police courts, 'be proper objects therefor;' Notice shall be given to the directors of the house, and if they shall declare their assent to receive the culprit, 'the said judge or justice shall sentence him or her to be committed to said house of employment and reformation, subject to the control of the directors thereof, in conformity with the provisions of this Act.'"

Sect. 3. Enacts that any of the said justices, on the application of the mayor, or of any alderman of Boston, or of any director of the house of industry, or house of reformation, or of any overseer for the poor of said city, "shall have power to sentence to said house of employment and reformation, all children who live an idle and dissolute life, whose parents are dead, or, if living, from drunkenness or other vices, neglect to provide any suitable employment, or exercise any salutary control over said children. And the persons thus committed, shall be kept, governed, and disposed of, as hereinafter provided; the males till they are of the age of twenty-one years, and the females of eighteen years."

Sect. 4. Enacts, that "the directors of the house shall have power to place the persons committed to their care" (the males until twenty-one, and the females until eighteen years of age), "at such employments, and to cause them to be instructed in such branches of useful knowledge, as shall be suitable to their years and capacity; and they shall have power to bind out said minors as apprentices or servants, until they arrive at the ages aforesaid, to such persons, and at such places, to learn such arts, trades, and employments, as in their judgment will be most for the reformation, amendment, and future benefit and advantage of such minor." This section contains also enactments adopting the provisions of the act of 26th February 1794, for the employment of the poor, as part of this act.

Sect. 5. Enacts, "that whenever said directors, overseer, or managers, shall deem it expedient to discharge any minor, committed to their charge as aforesaid, and not bound out as a servant or apprentice, and shall recommend the same in writing to the court by whom such minor was committed, said court shall have power to discharge him or her from the imprisonment or custody aforesaid."

Sections 6 and 7, contain merely local arrangements.

An act was passed on the 12th June 1829, providing "that any party aggrieved by the sentence of the police court, or any justice thereof, passed pursuant to the before-recited act, may appeal from such sentence to the next municipal court" in Boston, whose judgment shall be final, the party appealing "recog-

nising with sufficient surety or sureties, to the satisfaction of the justice of the police court by whom the sentence is passed, to enter and prosecute such appeal, and, in the meantime, to keep the peace, and be of good behavior."

Here the principle of vengeance or punitive justice, as it is more politely called, which is the mainspring of British criminal law, is abandoned. Juvenile offenders are regarded as erring and unfortunate beings, for whom the law prescribes a mode of treatment at once humane and beneficial towards them and society. In Britain, the laws are enacted by the aristocracy; in Massachusetts by the *people*, through their representatives. In Britain, the lawgivers are far removed from personal contact with the poor, the vicious, and the ignorant, and they think only of punishing them when they do wrong. In Massachusetts, the lawgivers live and move in daily communication with the mass of the people, and are dependent on their will for their functions; they become acquainted with the causes of crimes and the effects of punishment, and they treat offenders with humanity and justice. In Scotland, juvenile offenders, after being committed two or three times to Bridewell for sixty days, or less, for petty offences, are at last transported to New South Wales. In Boston, their first offence would conduct them to this house of refuge, from which they would not be liberated until they were reformed, provided for by their friends, or had attained to the age of twenty-one if males, or eighteen if females, by which time reason might be better able to govern their actions. This institution is managed by directors at all times amenable to public opinion: it is open to public inspection; the inmates are not regarded as undergoing punishment, but reformation; there is neither desire nor interest in any one to detain them one day longer than is necessary for their own welfare, and the directors are always happy to liberate them whenever, by the interference of their friends, or by other means, they can be adequately provided for. The expenses of the establishment are most properly provided for by public assessment. There is no reason why the benevolent members of society alone should be burdened with the support of such an institution. In Britain, we are still so deeply immersed in the barbarism of the dark ages, that the maxim is very generally admitted to be sound, that society has no right to compel its members to pay money for benevolent objects. It is regarded as a legitimate exercise of legislative power, to levy taxes to maintain prisons and penal colonies for *punishing* offenders, but quite illegitimate to exact money to rescue the young from the temptations that lead to crime; it is legitimate to levy taxes to maintain fleets and armies for the purpose of fighting the people of other states; but ille-

gitimate to raise money to be applied in national education, which, by rendering our own people just, might avert the necessity for fighting altogether!

The children were busily employed when we visited the institution. They are taught a trade, and receive instruction in the common branches of learning, and in morals and religion. A chapel forms part of the buildings.

I examined the heads of several of the children, and found in one of them the moral and intellectual organs favorably developed in proportion to those of the animal propensities; this child is naturally capable of much improvement. In another, the moral and intellectual organs were very deficient in proportion to the animal organs; and, in my opinion, he is a moral patient, who should be superintended for life; but the great majority presented that nearly equal balance between the higher and lower organs which renders the individual the victim of external influences. This combination very generally prevails among criminals, and institutions such as this, which remove temptations from their propensities, and supply stimulants to their moral and intellectual faculties, are calculated to establish the habitual ascendancy of their higher powers, if any human means will do so. It must be added, that the extent of moral and intellectual cultivation which is supplied in this institution, is by far too limited. Much more is necessary to be done, to establish such characters permanently in virtue.\*

Nov. 6. Therm. 50°. *Phrenology*.—To-day, I gave another practical lesson to my class on Phrenology in the forenoon. The interest and attendance increase.

*Lecture by Dr. W. E. Channing*.—In the evening, we heard Dr. Channing deliver the introductory lecture to the Franklin Society, an association formed for the purpose of furnishing weekly lectures to the laboring men and women of Boston, at half a dollar each for the season. The lecturers are gentlemen who give their services gratuitously, and as each chooses his own subject, the instruction is of a very desultory nature. Dr. Channing's address was "On the Elevation of the Laboring portion of the community." The sentiments were noble and pure, the language classical, occasionally poetical and touching, and sound sense pervaded the whole. A few of the propositions probably would not stand the test of a rigid analysis on the prin-

\* It is gratifying to observe, that a vast improvement has recently been provided for in the prisons in Scotland, by the passing of the Scottish Prison Bill. Mr. Brebner, Superintendent of the Glasgow Bridewell, and Mr. Frederick Hill, Inspector of Prisons for Scotland, among others, entertain sound and salutary views on the subject of Prison discipline, and by precept and example are doing great good to the country. 1840.

ciples of Phrenology and the natural laws; but these were not important in themselves. The Hall of the Masonic Temple was crowded, and the dress and appearance of the laboring people were so respectable that I could scarcely distinguish between them and the wealthier classes, many of whom were present. He adverted to the abolition of slavery, and elicited applause by his remarks. He was received in silence, as usual, without any demonstration of welcome, but occasionally his sentiments drew forth expressions of approbation as he proceeded.

Dr. Channing is in stature below the middle size, he is slender, pale, sensitive, and fragile in his aspect. His nervous system seems to have preyed on all the other portions of his frame. The anterior lobe of his brain is well developed, the lower region predominating; Ideality is prominently conspicuous, and the organs of all the moral sentiments are large. His hair is brown, profuse, and hangs loosely over the forehead, hiding its expanse from the eye of the phrenologist. The lower part of his face is small, and expresses great delicacy of feeling, gentleness and benevolence. His voice is feeble, but soft, clear, and distinct.

After the lecture, a gentleman who had listened to it addressed me, and told me, that Dr. Channing had lost his popularity and his influence entirely, by becoming an abolitionist; that the discourse which we had just heard was a piece of cant; and that the proposal to educate the laboring people was absurd. I told him that I dissented from his last two propositions, and that if Dr. Channing has lost any degree of popularity by advocating the cause of abolition, he has lost only what was not worth possessing, the approval of men who defend one of the most grievous wrongs ever perpetrated on humanity.

I mention these remarks, because the sentiments which they embody are entertained by a few persons in respectable circumstances in Boston, and an English visiter falling into the society of one of these persons, and responding in some degree to his opinions, would immediately be introduced by him to others of them, and might thus be led most erroneously to represent these views as generally entertained in good society in Massachusetts. (a)

Nov. 7. Therm. 38°. *North American Indians*.—This morning at nine o'clock, Dr. J. T. V. Smith, Health Officer of Boston, and Captain Sturgis of the Revenue Service, with a six-oared boat, took me four or five miles down Boston Bay, to "Pulling Point," in the township of Chelsea, where we dug

(a) It may reasonably be alleged, that the opinions of the majority of "good society" in Boston are on the side which the traveller supposes to be exceptionable, viz. opposed to abolition, in the technical sense of its present enthusiastic advocates and expounders.



for Indian skulls. In digging the foundations of a Methodist meeting-house here, an Indian skull had been disinterred, which had been presented to Dr. Smith, and from the number of bones discovered, there was reason to conclude, that this had been an Indian burying-place. Our six sailors, and some carpenters who were erecting a house close by, dug around the meeting-house, and they speedily uncovered the skeleton, the skull of which had been presented to Dr. Smith. It lay north and south, and had been doubled up, with the knees touching the sternum, and the legs parallel to the thighs, the elbows close to the sides, the fore-arms folded up parallel to the humerus, and the hands resting on the breast. The head lay to the south. We continued to dig in the same direction, and found another adult skeleton entire, lying exactly in the same attitude, the skull in its place, and entire. We found close by this skeleton, another of a young person; but the skull had been flattened, the occipital bone being forced into contact with the frontal bone, and the temporal bones separated and spread out.

There could be no doubt of these skeletons being Indian. The attitude in which the bodies lay, corresponds with that of other bodies found in other Indian burying-places. In the American Family Magazine, (Vol. iv, No. II, p. 66,) an account is given, accompanied by a figure of an Indian skeleton, the position of which was similar; but it possessed a brass breastplate and brass belt. It was found in the town of Fall River, Bristol county, Massachusetts, in July, 1836. The skeletons which we discovered were only about twelve inches below the surface, and are supposed to have been in the ground more than two hundred years. The soil was gravel, intermingled with a yellowish clay and sand.

The gentlemen kindly presented me with the skull, and Dr. Smith added the one which had been previously given to him. Both skulls presented a large base of the brain, a sloping and narrow coronal region, deficient in Conscientiousness, Benevolence and Ideality, with a moderate anterior lobe. The sutures are moderately serrated. This combination is the general accompaniment of the savage character.

The day was splendidly clear and calm. The six young sailors who manned the boat were beautifully clean and healthy in their appearance. Captain Sturgis allows no spirituous liquors in his cutter, and uses no punishment. He never uses harsh or profane language, nor permits his crew to use such towards each other. He treats them with kindness, does not pay them their wages on stated days, but gives them money to buy necessaries when asked for it, and when a balance has accu-  
nu-

lated, he pays it, and induces the sailor to carry it directly to the Savings Bank. If any of them behave ill, he is dismissed.

November 8. Thermometer, 53°. *State Prison*.—I visited the state prison in Charlestown. It contains about three hundred male convicts. None are sent hither who are not sentenced to imprisonment for one year and upwards. The prison dress is made of coarse woollen cloth, the left side blue, and the right red. The prison is conducted on the Auburn system. Each prisoner is locked up in a separate cell when not at work. The cells, judging by the eye, seem to be about seven feet long, five broad, and seven in height. The upper half of the door of each cell is grated for the admission of light and air. A ventilating hole about four inches square, left in a corner at the top of the wall, opens into a large air chimney. The light enters through windows in the external walls, and the cells are built facing these windows, with a passage of eight or ten feet in breadth between them and the outer walls. At night lamps are hung on these walls, which send rays through the gratings into the cells. There are four or five floors of cells, one above another. In the morning the convicts are marched in solemn silence into large workshops, in which they labor at various trades; stone-dressing, smith-work, carpentry, upholstery, and shoe-making. If the room is small, a superintendent sits and overlooks the whole workmen, preventing them from speaking, holding communication with each other, or being idle. If the workshop is large, several superintendents are employed. In every other respect the prisoners appear like tradesmen in a well-regulated manufactory, busily engaged in work. They are instructed after the hours of labor, and also on Sundays, in their cells.

I examined the heads of eight or nine of the criminals, and found the animal organs large in proportion to those of the moral sentiments and intellect; but, on the whole, the moral region was less deficient in these individuals, than in the average of criminals, whose heads I have examined in Britain. Several whose brains indicated very low dispositions, were mentioned as being well conducted in prison, a strong testimony to the efficiency of the discipline. I could learn very little about the dispositions which they had manifested when free members of society. The statistics of crime will never be satisfactory until the history of the external circumstances of the criminal, and also his development of brain and temperament, are recorded.

I was informed that when Dr. Spurzheim visited this prison in 1832, he stated that a particular prisoner's head was so well developed in the moral and intellectual, and so little in the

animal regions, that he could not conceive how he came to be under sentence for a crime. Afterwards it was discovered that he was not guilty. He was liberated, and is since married, and is now a respectable citizen. He all along denied his guilt.

After I left the prison, several of the prisoners whose heads I had examined, wrote accounts of their own dispositions, which were sent for my information. Most of them represented themselves as amiable and unfortunate men, either wrongfully condemned, or so full of penitence, that it was cruel to continue their confinement. If these autobiographies are true, Phrenology is false; but, unfortunately for the veracity of the narrators, their vicious actions form a striking contrast to their professed virtuous dispositions.

*Mr. Webster.*—On my return from Charlestown, I visited the Court House, and heard Mr. Webster address a jury in a suit about paying a contractor for making a road. His manner of speaking is calm, deliberate, clear and forcible.

*The Legal Profession in Britain and Massachusetts.*—I have had several conversations with gentlemen of the law in Boston, regarding the combination of the functions of solicitor and counsel in the same individual in their courts. They stated that the impediment which it might be supposed to present to men of great talent in rising into the higher walks of the profession, is removed by the practice of adopting junior partners; while it is attended with some advantages, one of which is, that it checks that tendency to falsehood and exaggeration in the pleadings of counsel which sometimes disgrace the English and Scotch bar. In the great majority of lawsuits, both litigants are seeking to obtain only what they sincerely believe to be justice; but there are instances of unprincipled and vindictive clients, who resort to the law as an engine of extortion or oppression. The division of the offices of solicitor and counsel aids such persons in pursuing their nefarious objects. In London or Edinburgh an unprincipled client will find out a solicitor as dishonest as himself, and communicate to him a whole tissue of untruths. The solicitor, when he is not called on to do more than convey them to counsel, sets them forth as he received them, or perhaps colors them a little to add to their effect. The barrister believes in his brief as he does in his Bible, and adding a little more coloring to the facts, and much eloquence in the expression of them, presents to the judge and jury a tissue which very much resembles the wrong side of the web of truth. All the parties who weave this tissue affect to be honorable men. The client is merely misled by his own egotism, and the solicitor and counsel are not bound to know that he falsifies. If the client be rich—the greater the falsehoods, the higher in

rank is the counsel selected to give them weight and respectability. In such cases the most eminent, and sometimes the most evangelical, men are employed to state the most desperate calumnies and untruths, a duty from which, if the fee be large, they rarely shrink. I am informed that in Massachusetts every counsel is presumed to know the facts from the investigations which it is his duty to make into the evidence in preparing his case; and that extravagant departures from truth, which ordinary sagacity might have avoided, injure his personal reputation.

*The Weather.*—At 5 P. M. the thermometer in the open air stood at 68°. It blew hard from the southwest, and at intervals torrents of rain poured down from the clouds. Between them there was a lull. The air was excessively damp within doors. The wind comes with the gulf stream, and from it receives its high temperature and moisture.

*Sir Walter Scott and the Ballantynes.*—The “Refutation of the Misstatements and Calumnies contained in Mr. Lockhart’s Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., respecting the Messrs. Ballantyne,” by Mr. James Ballantyne’s representatives, has recently been republished here, and is exciting much interest. In society the questions are very often put to me, Do you know Mr. Lockhart? What is the development of his organ of Conscientiousness? Did you know the Ballantynes? What is the truth about them and Sir Walter Scott? My answer to these questions has been: That I had seen Mr. Lockhart, but had no personal acquaintance with him, and that I declined giving opinions about the heads of living men, unless they had permitted authentic casts or busts of themselves to be published, which he, to the best of my knowledge, had not done. I asked why they put this question. “Because,” said they, “there seems to be a defect in his moral perceptions. He obviously means well by the reputation of Sir Walter Scott, but he has unnecessarily published matters which detract from the respectability of Sir Walter’s character, apparently without being at all conscious that they have this tendency.” I remarked that probably Mr. Lockhart wished to do justice to the public as well as to Sir Walter, by telling the whole truth, and leaving the world to form its own judgments on his merits. “But has he told the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in regard to the Ballantynes?” My reply was: that after Constable’s failure, which drew along with it that of Sir Walter Scott and James Ballantyne (John having died in 1821), the affairs of all the three parties had been placed by their creditors in the hands of professional men for investigation, and that the general result of this scrutiny was the understanding among the creditors that James Ballantyne had been ruined by his connection with Sir

Walter Scott; and they acted on this belief by treating him with great kindness: They allowed him to retain his household furniture, and also the wines which Mr. Lockhart says so much about, and they continued him in the management of his printing business with a large salary. No creditors ever troubled him personally, even when carrying on business, undischarged, after the bankruptcy, for he was not legally discharged till after Sir Walter's death, when his (Sir Walter's) representatives compounded for the debts that then remained due. I should say, that the statements contained in the recent publication by James Ballantyne's heirs coincide with the views formed by the business circles in Edinburgh, after the whole facts of the case had been disclosed.

“Was James Ballantyne the vain fool which he is represented by Mr. Lockhart to have been?” I replied that I knew James Ballantyne personally, and certainly regarded him as vain; but this was his only weakness. It is only justice to add, also, that I have heard persons who knew him more intimately than I did, say that the pomposity or grandness of manner which led ordinary acquaintances to regard him as vain, lay on the surface merely, and that a closer observation showed that his good sense had subdued the quality itself. He was a man of talent and of taste, and in my opinion essentially honest. I recollected his conduct at the time when the Reform Bill was depending in Parliament. His newspaper the “Weekly Journal” was a profitable publication, and had long advocated tory principles. Sir Walter Scott was a co-proprietor of it with him and Mr. Hogarth, and Sir Walter's hostility to reform was well known. It was a difficult point to determine whether the “Journal” should oppose reform, or go with what appeared to be the irresistible stream of public opinion in its favor. In this state of matters, I met James Ballantyne one day, waiting, with hundreds of other persons, the arrival of the London post, to ascertain the fate of the bill, on one of its readings. He addressed me, and asked whether I had a quarter of an hour to spare. I said that I had. He then explained that he was in doubt which side to take in the “Journal;” that his desire was to support that which his conviction should lead him to regard as the best founded in public utility and justice; that he had great difficulty in discovering the real merits of the question, and had thought that the best method of reaching them was to come here (the front of the register-office) and endeavor to induce the advocates of both sides to state to him the *grounds* of their opinions; and that he intended then to decide for himself. “You are a reformer,” he continued, “will you do me the favor to devote a quarter of hour in explaining to me *why* you

support reform, and *what effects* you anticipate to flow from it?" I readily complied with his request, and walked an hour with him in Prince's street, stating my views. He urged objections occasionally, and listened patiently to my answers. When I left him, he said that this was the third or fourth day on which he had been following this course, and had conversed with strenuous advocates belonging to both of the political parties, and that he meant to continue his investigations. In a week or ten days afterwards he declared in favor of reform. I have no doubt that he acted under a strong sense of duty, as well as from a prudent regard to what he considered to be the interests of his paper, and that in his decision he did great violence to his feelings of respect for Sir Walter Scott. His regard for Sir Walter appeared to me to amount to a superstition or worship; and both judgment and sense of right must have concurred and operated strongly in his mind before he could bring himself to act in opposition to the views of his idol.

Nov. 9. Thermometer 52°. *Phrenology*.—I gave practical lessons to my class, from 10 o'clock till past 1. Sixteen or eighteen children were brought, and the class was formed into parties of three or four, who examined the cerebral development of a child, wrote it down, and brought it to me to be checked. In this day's practising, they had the means of judging whether there is a correspondence between the natural dispositions and the development of the brain in young persons. In almost all the children, the anterior lobe was large, indicating great intellectual power. I called the attention of the class to the frontal sinus; showed them specimens of it in skulls, and told them that before the age of twelve it very rarely exists so high as the base of the brain. Here, then, was an opportunity for them of putting the assertions of phrenologists to the test of observation. We maintain that the sinus in adult and aged persons is found chiefly in the situations of Individuality, Size, Weight, and Locality; that these organs are amply developed and also active in children below twelve; that in the children now present these organs appear very different in size, and of course, if Phrenology be true, a difference should be found in the talents related to them: if, for instance, Individuality be large in a child, he should be a great observer and inquirer about things that exist; if in another the organ be small, he should be deficient in this power; and so forth with the other organs. As the sinus does not exist in early life, it presents no obstacle to our *ascertaining the functions* of these organs by observing the heads and talents of children. This was an appeal to facts, worth a thousand arguments; and neither at the time of the examination nor afterwards, did any one of the class communicate to me discrepancies between

the development of these organs, and the manifestations of the children.

I observed that in these children, the cerebellum was generally largely developed for their years: Cautiousness was not so large as in Scotch children, Acquisitiveness was very generally large; Conscientiousness and Firmness were not in general so large as Benevolence, and Self-Esteem was more frequently larger than Love of Approbation, than it is in Scotch children. I am not certain to which class of society the children belonged. Some of them had the moral and intellectual organs admirably well developed, but with small narrow chests, indicating mental precocity with feeble health. I strongly urged on their parents the necessity of limiting their mental exertions and increasing their bodily activity. My impression is, that many of the children did not belong to persons attending my class, for those whom I have seen in their houses were, on the whole, superior. Some I knew were brought from charity schools; and others were borrowed from persons in the humbler walks of life. In England, parents of the same class with those comprising my class here, eagerly brought their own children to similar examinations.

Nov. 9. *Religion in the United States.*—Many inquiries are made of me in society, concerning the state of religion in England and Scotland, and of the church in both; the condition of Germany (which I had visited in 1837) moral, educational, and religious; the practice of banking in Scotland; what Lord Jeffrey is doing; who now conducts the Edinburgh Review; and many similar questions, showing a wide range of observation and thinking, and a great desire for information. I mentioned to the inquirers that Evangelical Religion is in the ascendant both in England and Scotland, but that a war is raging against the church as a legal establishment in both parts of the island; that the manner in which the conflict is carried on is curiously indicative of the intellectual difference between the English and Scotch. In the former, Individuality and Eventuality (which give a practical tendency to the understanding) predominate, and the English oppose the church by refusing church-rates to maintain the edifices of the State religion, and by every other direct means that the law places in their power. In the latter, Causality predominates (which impresses a speculative tendency on the intellect), and they write books, deliver lectures, and pour forth a continued fire of argument from a thousand batteries against a state religion, in the full confidence that in the progress of time, reason will triumph, and the Church will fall. The English seek an immediate result; the Scotch wait patiently for half a century, or a whole one if necessary, and never relax their cannonade. In Scotland the church is making a vigorous defence

with the same arms. Pamphlets, periodicals, speeches, and sermons are constantly pouring forth, charged with vigorous arguments in favor of state-enacted articles of belief, and a state-paid clergy.

*Religious Freedom in Prussia.*—I added, that northern Germany appeared to me be rapidly advancing in education, intelligence, and industry, while Austria is nearly stationary; that the Germans are the most simple-minded and kind people among whom I have travelled, that in a residence of nearly five months among them, I was not conscious of being imposed on more than thrice, while I had many opportunities of observing their simplicity, and experiencing their kindness; and that Prussia was the only country which I had visited in which religious freedom seemed to be understood and practically allowed. This last observation led to more particular inquiries, and I added that I considered no country to be entitled to boast of its religious liberty in which public opinion was not so far advanced as to permit every man to follow the dictates of his own understanding in his religious belief, without exposing him to disadvantage on account of his differing from the prevailing sects. “But this is the law here,” said several persons. “True, it is the law, but it is not the practice. A man is safe in Massachusetts, if he profess a faith which is already supported by a powerful body of respectable persons; but if his opinions be singular, or not recognised by an influential sect, he is exposed to all minor persecution which operates insidiously and in the dark: To take a strong example, it would obstruct the rise of a young man at the bar, in medicine, or in any employment depending on the people, if he were known to be conscientiously a Jew, however moral and respectable he might be in character.” “But would not the same happen in Prussia?” “No.” I was told that if a man’s personal conduct be irreproachable, it makes no difference in his social estimation in Berlin, what religious faith he professes; that no one is esteemed either more or less for professing publicly a strict religious belief, if he act up to it; but that also no one is disesteemed, although he gives no outward indications of his adherence to any particular creed; that religious belief is viewed as a question between God and every man’s own conscience, with which his neighbor has no concern; that the Prussian Government employs equally in its civil service,—and elects as professors of languages and the natural sciences in its Universities—Protestants, Catholics, Unitarians, Rationalists, and men of every other form of faith, provided they be moral and capable of teaching successfully the branches of science which they follow. In the Provinces of Prussia, the same liberality does not exist, and even in Berlin there are evangelical



coteries who act in a narrow spirit, but they have very limited power of giving effect to their opinions.”

I told my friends that Lord Jeffrey is now a Judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland, that he has retired from the Review, and that he is giving great satisfaction to the country in his judicial capacity. They informed me that the influence of the Review on opinion in the United States was at one time very great, but that it has much declined, and is still declining.

I put questions to them in return, and learned that evangelical doctrines have generally revived in America; but that the evangelical Presbyterian church, whose head-quarters are in Pennsylvania, has divided within itself; that a large minority has renounced the doctrines of original sin, election, imputed righteousness, and some minor articles of faith. Both parties, however, agree in regarding the Unitarians as common enemies, and oppose them. I asked what was the cause of this revival? and the general result of all that I could gather was, that the great mass of the American people cannot boast of a high intellectual education, but have strong impulsive emotions; that the evangelical party address themselves to their feelings, particularly to their sentiments of fear and self-love, representing the faith which they teach as the most momentous of all considerations for the eternal welfare of their souls; that the rational party in religion have abandoned this lever, and preach more to the understanding and the disinterested sentiments of the people; and in consequence fail to satisfy the mass. In New England, there is a superabundance of churches. In one village, containing 1800 souls, there are four congregations, three of which maintain ministers. The churches are unnecessarily multiplied through contention.

I was informed by a gentleman who had paid some attention to the state of religion in France, that in that country, a desire exists for a better form of religion than the Catholic; but that the devotional sentiment is so much stronger than reason, that a ceremonial is regarded as indispensably necessary to the success of a reformed faith, and that the great obstacle to its introduction is the difficulty of inventing a new ceremonial that should not draw down ridicule from the people while it was new.

*Election in the State of New York.*—This day the news of the election of the members of the legislature, governor of the state, &c. of New York, arrived at Boston. The whig party, or that opposed to M. Van Buren, have triumphed. The whig party here took out to the common two brass field-pieces belonging to the state, and fired a *feu de joie*. The two guns were loaded and fired so rapidly, that I conceived there was a whole park of artillery on the ground, until I arrived and saw only this num-

ber of pieces. I asked how the guns of the state came to be lent to announce a party triumph, and was told that they are equally at the service of the opposite party when they have a victory to celebrate.

*Insanity and Criminal Jurisprudence.*—Mr. Cushing, the editor of the Law Journal, told me, that at the September term for Merrimack county in 1838, the Honorable Joel Parker, chief justice of the court of common pleas for the state of New Hampshire, had delivered a charge to the grand jury on the subject of insanity, which had embodied the phrenological views of this malady, and which had been published by request. He favored me with a copy of it. It mentions that, “by returns from 83 towns, made by order of the legislature (of the state of New Hampshire) in 1832, there were within these towns 193 cases of insanity; from 127 towns no report was received. At a similar ratio for all the towns in the state, the number would be about 500. Of those returned 98 were paupers, and 95 not so. From the returns, about half were, or had been in confinement, and probably omissions in that respect gave a less number who had been restrained in this way, than the facts would have warranted. Some were in cages and cells, some in irons and chains, and some in jails.

“The report of a committee in 1836 shows returns from 161 towns, in 141 of which the whole number of insane returns was 312. In 20 of the towns from which returns were received, there were no insane. The period in which the insanity had existed, as far as reported, was from two weeks to 60 years, and gave an average of about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  years’ duration. Taking the ratio of the population of the towns from which the returns were received, as compared with the population of the state, the whole number of the insane would be nearly 450. There are obvious reasons why this should be below the actual number. By inquiries recently made, it appears that the number of insane in the county of Cheshire is 50; nearly two for every thousand inhabitants, which would give about 500 for the whole state.” He proceeds to mention the various circumstances in which the question of insanity may come before courts of law and juries; such as in claims for the support of lunatics; in applications for the appointment of guardians to lunatics; in controversies about wills executed by persons alleged to have been insane: in disputes about contracts alleged to have been undertaken by the insane: in questions concerning the guilt or innocence of persons who are alleged to have been affected by insanity at the time of committing an offence. He next gives a description of the disease, in which he recognises not only *intellectual* insanity, but also morbid affections of the feelings. He expressly says, that

“the propensities and sentiments may become deranged,” and among other forms of disease of them, he includes “an irresistible propensity to steal,” “an inordinate propensity to lying,” “a morbid propensity to incendiarism,” and “a morbid propensity to kill.” The whole charge is lucid, sound, and practical; and it is gratifying to a phrenologist to see the principles of his science brought thus practically to bear on the interests of a state, under the direction of one of its highest legal authorities. Mr. Parker illustrates his divisions of insanity by quotations from the reports of Dr. Woodward, superintendent of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital, an avowed phrenologist, and from Dr. Ray’s work on Medical Jurisprudence, already alluded to.

*Extraordinary Talent for Languages.*—I was favored with the perusal of a letter dated Worcester, 6th September, 1838, written by Elihu Burrit to William Lincoln, Esq. of that village, afterwards published, in which the writer mentions, that, being one of a large family, and his parents poor, he apprenticed himself, when very young, to a blacksmith, but that he had always had such a taste for reading, that he carried it with him to his trade. He commenced the study of Latin when his indentures were not half expired, and completed reading Virgil in the evenings of one winter. He next studied Greek, and carried the Greek grammar about in his hat, studying it for a few moments while heating some large iron. In the evenings he sat down to Homer’s Iliad, and read twenty books of it during the second winter. He next turned to the modern tongues, and went to New Haven, where he recited to native teachers, in French, Spanish, German, and Italian. At the end of two years, he returned to his forge, taking with him such books as he could procure. He next commenced Hebrew, and soon mastered it with ease, reading two chapters in the Bible before breakfast; this, with an hour at noon, being all the time he could spare from work. Being unable to procure such books as he desired, he determined to hire himself to some ship bound to Europe, thinking he could there meet with books at the different ports he would touch at. He travelled more than 100 miles on foot to Boston with this view, but was not able to find what he sought, and, at that period, heard of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Thither he bent his steps, and found a collection of ancient, modern, and Oriental books, such as he “never before imagined to be collected in one place!” He was there kindly allowed to read what books he liked, and has reaped great benefit from this permission. He spends three hours daily in the hall, and has made such good use of these privileges, as

to be able to read upwards of *fifty* languages with greater or less facility.

The following is a specimen of his common-place book:—  
“Elihu Burritt in account-current with Time, Worcester, June 5, 1838.

“June 5.—50 lines of Hebrew; 37 lines of Celtic: 6 hours of forging.

“June 6.—37 lines of Hebrew; 40 lines of Celtic; 6 hours of forging.

“June 7.—60 lines of Hebrew; 60 lines of Celtic; 54 pages French; 20 names of stars; 5 hours of forging.

“June 8.—51 lines of Hebrew; 75 lines of Celtic; 40 pages of French; 15 names of stars; 8 hours of forging.

“June 9.—68 lines of Hebrew; 50 lines of Celtic; 40 pages of French; 3 hours studying Syriac; 9 hours of forging.

“June 10.—100 lines of Hebrew; 85 pages of French; 4 services at church; Bible-class at noon.”

He proceeds to state, that he wrote and delivered a lecture on astronomy. Many days he was unwell, and yet worked hard, sometimes twelve hours a day at his forge.

I was not so fortunate as to see this prodigy of talent, and regret that I cannot report the development of his brain, more especially as there still remains much obscurity concerning the functions of the organ of language, and the precise faculties on which the talent for acquiring foreign languages depends. One thing, however, is pretty obvious, that the necessity for forging saved this student's life. If he had not been forced by necessity to labor, he would, in all probability, have devoted himself so incessantly to his books, that he would have ruined his health, and been carried to a premature grave.

November 10. Therm. 27°. *Dr. Spurzheim.*—This is the anniversary of Dr. Spurzheim's death, and his memory is cherished here with the fondest and most respectful regard. Most of my friends recollect that this is the day, and mention some incident connected with it. The house in which he died at the corner of Pearl Street no longer exists. It has been taken down, and new shops and warehouses have been built in its place. Mr. Ward, banker, acted as his executor. Claims by his relations, properly authenticated, came from France, and were allowed by the Consistorial Court of Boston, and Mr. Ward remitted to them the funds which he left. There was a report in England that he had died insolvent; but the circumstances now mentioned by Mr. Ward show that this could not be correct. I was told by Mr. Capon that his property in Boston exceeded \$2000.

*House-keeping.*—We continue to hear many ladies complain of the labors of house-keeping in this country. When one makes a call in a forenoon, the lady of the house is rarely found sitting in her drawing-room, as is the custom in England, but appears to be engaged in some other part of the house. I have already remarked, that one cause of this, is the aversion that generally exists to paying for domestic service at the same rate at which other labor is remunerated. Another cause may be found in the prosperous condition of the laboring classes in general, which renders them independent, and produces a dislike to the restraints of domestic service. The inconvenience which the rich suffer from this state of things, appears to me to be far more than counterbalanced by the general happiness, which is among its causes.

November 11. Therm. 26°. *Sunday.*—I heard the Rev. Mr. Blagden preach an excellent sermon in the Old South Church. He is evangelical and presbyterian, and his congregation was large, and highly respectable in appearance. The more sermons I hear in this country, the more the conviction grows that they are of a higher order in thought, composition, and delivery, than the average of discourses in the Established Church of Scotland, and that the churches are better fitted-up, and the people more attentive.

Nov. 12. Therm. 32°. *The Election.*—This day we visited Salem, a seaport town about fourteen miles distant from Boston, down the bay on the north shore. The day was bright and clear, with moderate frost. It was election-day in the State of Massachusetts. I visited one of the polling stations in Salem, and found men at the door holding the rival lists of candidates, and offering them to each voter as he entered. It was with difficulty I persuaded them that I had not the honor of being a voter. The voter presents himself to the polling clerk, and announces his name; it is looked for in the register; if found, it is marked, and he puts into the ballot-box the printed list of candidates for whom he votes, and walks away. All was quiet, and only a few individuals were standing at each polling place, gossiping and calculating chances.

*The Museum at Salem.*—We visited the museum, containing about five thousand objects of curiosity; it was formed by shipmasters who have doubled Cape Horn, or the Cape of Good Hope. The members have the privilege of giving free admission to any one whom they choose to introduce. It contains many oriental articles of interest and value, particularly full sized figures of individuals of different ranks among the Eastern nations, each in his proper costume.

*Unitarian Church.*—A new Unitarian stone church has re-

cently been erected here. It cost \$35,000. The pews were sold to the subscribers by auction (or "at auction," as it is called here). They were set up at \$300 each pew, and the best brought \$700. They are very handsomely furnished.

Nov. 13. Therm. 42°. *The House of Correction.*—The house of correction in South Boston, in its general economy, resembles the state prison. It is used for the confinement, only of persons convicted of the less heinous kinds of offences. No punishment is used to enforce the jail discipline, except the shower-bath, with abundance of water.

*Criminal Jurisprudence.*—Judge Thacher of the Municipal Court has attended my whole course of lectures, and he accompanied me to-day to the House of Correction. He told me that he concurs essentially with my views of the mental constitution of criminals; and that many facts indicate that some of them are incapable of resisting the temptations to crime presented to them by the ordinary condition of society. He says, that it has been a great comfort to him, as judge of the city's criminal court, to have the "House of Reformation for Juvenile Offenders" (described on p. 110), and this "House of Correction;" and also a farm-school on one of the islands in the bay, to which he can commit different offenders, for indefinite periods, for reformation. They have come to him after their liberation, and thanked him for the beneficial results of a long confinement.

The citizens by whom these houses are inspected, are so constant in their superintendence, and so much publicity pervades the management, that strong checks are interposed to the abuse of this discretionary power. Pious ladies come from the city and instruct the inmates on Sundays; but there is too little of moral and intellectual instruction and training on week days.

*Human Responsibility.*—I have now delivered my lecture on human responsibility as affected by Phrenology, and it has been well received. In my public discourse, I limited the discussion to the question of the responsibility of offenders to the civil magistrate, but some of my hearers have conversed with me regarding its relation to the prevailing interpretations of Scripture. The view stated to my class was briefly this: Men may be divided into three great classes. The first comprehends those in whom the moral and intellectual organs are large, and the organs of the propensities proportionately moderate in size. This class possesses the highest qualities of sentiment and intellect in ample proportion; they have received the power to know what is right, and to do it; and they are justly liable to be punished by the law, if they do what it proclaims to be wrong. The second class includes those individuals in whom the organs of the animal propensities, moral sentiments, and intellectual faculties are nearly equally balanced,

being all large. Such persons experience strong impulses both to good and evil, and their actual conduct is greatly influenced by the circumstances in which they are placed. If uneducated, and exposed to want and vicious society, they may lapse into crime: If well educated, trained to industry, and favored with the society of the intelligent and good, their higher powers may acquire and retain the ascendancy during life, and they may avoid all serious offences. These men are liable to be influenced by the fear of punishment, and are therefore responsible; but they should be treated with a due reference to their nature; corrected and improved, and not merely tormented. The third class comprehends those in whom the organs of the propensities are large, and the organs of the moral and intellectual faculties very deficient. I stated it to be my conviction, founded on observation, that such individuals are incapable of resisting the temptations to crime presented by ordinary society, that they are moral patients, and should not be punished, but restrained, and employed in useful labor during life, with as much liberty as they can enjoy without abusing it. I mentioned, that, according to my view, a severe responsibility lies on the first class, for on them a bountiful Creator has bestowed his best gifts, and committed their weaker brethren to their care; that hitherto, in most countries, they had thought merely of punishing these feebler minds, and that it would be a just retribution to administer to them, for their harsh and unjust conduct, no small portion of the sufferings which they have inflicted on those whom they should rather have instructed and protected.

Several of my hearers having been led into the same train of thought by the lecture, asked me whether I was certain of the correctness of the facts. I stated, that after an extensive series of observations made in the prisons of England, Ireland, Scotland, and some parts of Germany, I was convinced of their truth; that their own prisons in Boston, which I had visited, presented evidence to the same effect; and that nearly all practical phrenologists were agreed on the subject. They then asked whether the clergy of Scotland had turned their attention to these views of human nature? My reply was, that I believed not. "Are there not clergymen members of the Phrenological Society in Edinburgh?" "Yes." "Does not Dr. David Welsh, who wrote the Life of Dr. Thomas Brown, declare himself in that work to be convinced of the truth of Phrenology?" "Yes, he does." "And is not he now a professor in the University of Edinburgh?" "Yes, of Church History." "How does he reconcile Phrenology with the doctrine of original sin?" "He has never stated, in any public form, his opinions on this subject." "Your description of the men who compose the first

class implies that they possess natural qualities that *are good*, and that they are culpable only if they abuse them—what, then, becomes of the total corruption of human nature, which is the foundation of Calvinism, if this doctrine be true?” “This is a question for those who embrace the doctrine of total corruption. Your countryman, the Rev. Joseph A. Warne, has attempted to answer it, but I am not aware that any of the Scottish divines who believe in Phrenology have published any solution of the difficulty. Here, in Massachusetts, it should form a less formidable obstacle to the reception of Phrenology than in Scotland, because several of your sects have already abandoned the notion of entire corruption.” “Yes, we have, and we consider that Phrenology bears us out in doing so. It is a philosophy which harmonizes with our views of Scripture.”

“But,” continued my friends, “the view of human responsibility which you presented to us goes deeper than the question of original sin. According to the common interpretations of Scripture, the individuals included in your third class, the habitual criminals, who do evil continually when left to the suggestions of their own minds, constitute the wicked, for whom the whole terrors of divine wrath are prepared in the world to come, unless they repent, and obtain forgiveness; yet your doctrine represents them as unfortunate rather than criminal: as ‘moral patients,’ to use your own phrase, rather than fit subjects for punitive justice.” “I acknowledge the correctness of the inference, and the only answer that I can give to the objection which is implied in it is, that men must revise their interpretations of Scripture, and bring them into harmony with natural truth.” “But does this imply that the Scripture is a convertible standard that may be made to suit any views, and, if so, what is its value?” “The answer to this objection is obvious. The Scripture is made a convertible standard by each sect founding its doctrines on parts of it disjointed from the rest; whereas its true character is to be sought in its *general* tendency, which is towards justice and mercy; and in this respect phrenology is in accordance with it. In Massachusetts, where you seem to have studied the Scriptures zealously and attentively, each of your sects makes them echo its own doctrines. Your Unitarians deny the divinity of Christ, and your Universalists deny the existence of the devil and of future punishments, and they, as well as your orthodox sects, maintain that their opinions are founded in Scripture. This shows that the Scriptures are treated here as a convertible standard in the sense in which you use this phrase; and as Nature will not bend to erroneous interpretations, it follows that all sects must either interpret in harmony with her dictates, or she will condemn them openly.” “You



speak of the discrepant interpretations of Scripture by our sects; have you not the same conflicts of opinion in Scotland?" "Not to the same extent. Those who, in Scotland, are popularly called dissenters, are only seceders; they differ from the church in matters of church-government, but all adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith embraced by the Established Church. The Episcopalians with us are 'dissenters,' but their articles of belief coincide, in all the leading doctrines, with those of the Church of Scotland; hence there is with us scarcely any avowed difference of opinion concerning scriptural interpretations. There are a few Unitarian congregations, which feebly exist; and Scotland, so far as public profession goes, is nearly unanimous in the belief that Calvinism contains the only true interpretations of Scripture. Our people regard you as great backsliders from the true faith." "*Fore-sliders* we should rather be called; because we once held the same opinions with the Scottish Church, and if some of us have left them, it is because we have *advanced* in our interpretations of Scripture. We have adopted more sound and consistent views, tried by the whole body of Scripture itself, and views also more in harmony with natural truth: We call this *advancing*, not backsliding: but this is apart from the subject;—Do not the Scottish clergy perceive that phrenology, if true, contains facts that must force reflecting men to question their interpretations of Scripture? and why do they not show more interest in an inquiry that is destined, sooner or later, to call forth their strongest efforts to maintain their position, or to force *them* also to *advance*?" "The number of individuals who have embraced phrenology in Scotland, is small compared with the mass, and the clergy satisfy themselves with denouncing it as untrue and dangerous; this suffices for the day; and they have other enemies to contend with, whom they regard as more formidable and pressing than the adherents of a small philosophical sect."

There is a sharpness of intellect, and a boldness in following up views to their consequences among the educated men here, that gave rise to numerous conversations such as this now recorded, which is rather an epitome of many, than an exact report of one. Candor and courtesy uniformly prevailed in these discussions.

Nov. 14. Thermometer 54°. *The Elections.*—The elections for the city of Boston are now reported, and in consequence of a split among the Whig party on the question of the license-law, that party have, to a considerable extent, lost ground. By law, a majority of all the voters must concur, before an election can be effected. Three lists of candidates, or "tickets," were presented at the polling stations. One for the Democratic can-

didates; one for Whigs who were *against the license-law*, and one for Whigs without regard to their opinions on this question. At least this was the form of the division as I understood it. Only those individuals whose names were in both of the Whig "tickets," had a majority of the whole voters, and were elected. There must be a new election for those who had less, and who are in consequence not chosen.

It is confidently expected, that, as the Whig party has triumphed in New York State, they will bring in and pass a bill for establishing a registry of voters in that state, in which at present, not only does universal suffrage (excluding paupers and felons) prevail, but the qualification is settled at the poll, a state of the law which has led to great falsehood and many shameful practices in the late election, particularly in the city of New York.

*Affection of the Faculty of Language.*—A gentleman attending my lectures, lately favored me with the following case:—

"To GEORGE COMBE, Esq.

WARREN STREET, BOSTON,  
October 31, 1838.

"DEAR SIR:—The lady whose affection of the organ of Language I mentioned to you last evening, is ———, the wife of Mr. ——— of ——— Mass.\*

"At the age of two or three years, she was able to repeat long stories that had been related to her word for word. She was also able to spell any word after she had heard some one spell it.

"The power of her verbal memory continued to be remarkable through all her school-days.

"A year or two since, she and Mr. ——— were with a few friends one evening. It was proposed to try who could repeat the most of a certain poet's works. A volume of Byron's was taken for the purpose, I think. They opened to a passage. Mrs. ——— repeated page after page. They laughed at her and said she had been reading the piece lately. She denied this, and asked them to turn to any other part of the volume. They opened to another piece. She repeated it as fluently as before.

"During the trial, she shaded the light from her eyes with her hand.

"Before long she fainted, and was carried to her room.

"For nine weeks was not able to call her husband or friends by name. She was at a loss, too, for the names of things.

\* I suppress the names.—G. C.

Her faculties were unimpaired in other respects. She occupied herself with calculations in arithmetic—the organ of Number was in extreme activity. After her recovery, she said she had been troubled with pain in the back of her eyes.

“She or her husband would be very happy to give you any farther particulars.”

*Phrenology.*—The last three lectures of my course were devoted to “Physical Education,” “Mental Education,” and “The application of Phrenology to the present condition and future prospects of the United States.” The committee who managed the arrangements for the lectures solicited my permission to invite the mayor and aldermen, and other gentlemen entrusted by law with the management of the common schools of the city, to these lectures, which I granted with great pleasure, and many of them attended. Having observed the unwholesome condition of the class-rooms, court-rooms, and other places of public resort in Boston, for want of ventilation, I called the attention of the audience strongly to the dependence of the mental faculties on the condition of the brain for their power of action; to the dependence of the brain for its vital properties on the condition of the blood; and to the dependence of the blood on the condition of the digestive and respiratory organs; thus pointing out the direct connection between sound digestion, pure air, and mental vigor. I found that even a brief exposition of the structure and functions of the digestive and respiratory organs, and of their connection with the brain, illustrated by large drawings, brought home to the understandings of my audience the importance of digestion and ventilation to mental energy, and gave general satisfaction. The ideas were by no means new to them; but although they had often heard them stated by other lecturers, and had read them in books, it had occurred to few to carry them into practice. I therefore insisted largely on the evils which they inflict on themselves and their children by this neglect. Pulmonary consumption produces a large proportion of all the deaths that occur in New England, and I pointed out to them an obvious train of causes in full operation, which lead to this disease. By breathing hot and vitiated air in ill ventilated apartments, the blood is not properly aërated, the lungs are enfeebled, and the tone of the whole system, mental and bodily, is lowered; nevertheless in this condition they make the most rapid transitions from a temperature of 70° or 75° of Fahrenheit’s thermometer, which is common in their houses, churches and lecture-rooms, to one of 5° or 10 below the freezing point, in the open air; a change

sufficient to injure the respiratory organs in the most robust state of health, and much more so when weakened by this previous injudicious treatment. These remarks, as I afterwards learned, were not without some beneficial influence on a portion of my audience.

In the course of the same lectures I pointed out the deficiencies which still generally exist both in Britain and Massachusetts in the education of females, and strongly urged the necessity of an improvement in this respect, for the benefit of the rising generation. In the United States, even more than in Britain, it is of great importance not only to families, but to *the state*, that mothers should be well instructed, because in America the fathers are too busy to devote proper attention to the education of their children, and the formation of early habits and opinions depends to a very great extent on the mothers.

*Female Education in Massachusetts.*—This subject strongly engages the attention of the enlightened women of Boston themselves. Mrs. Hale edits a work named “‘The American Ladies’ Magazine,” now united with “‘The Ladies’ Book,” published in Philadelphia, in which some excellent essays on it have appeared. But the *state* neglects its duty in this respect. No legislative or public provision has been made for female education, except the privilege of attending the common schools. There are in the United States upwards of eighty public colleges, or seminaries, for the instruction of young men in the higher branches of education, many of them richly endowed, and *all* receiving support to a greater or less extent from public funds; while not a single seminary has been *endowed*, or permanently established in Massachusetts by legislative liberality, for the education of young women in the superior walks of knowledge.

When I visited Berlin in 1837, I was informed by a gentleman who took a deep interest in public instruction, that an error in the Prussian system had then begun to develop itself, namely, that the education provided for the males, throughout the country, was so superior to that given to the females, that a disparity in point of knowledge and mental attainments had been created between the sexes, in the same rank of life, which was operating injuriously on the domestic happiness of the people; and he was a strenuous advocate for an improvement in the education of the Prussian women. If neglect of the female mind be injurious to society in Prussia, it will prove ten times more so in the United States of America.

I publish in the Appendix (No. III) a table showing the degree of interest with which the whole course of my lectures

has been followed. I was assured that in point of intellectual attainments and station in society, no audience in Boston could excel that with whose attendance I was honored.

November 17. Therm. 47°. *Dr. Spurzheim's Skull and Brain.*—In conversation Dr. Spurzheim more than once said to me, "I hope, that when I am dead they will not bury my skull. I wish it to be preserved as evidence of my natural dispositions. Posterity will judge by it whether I am a quack and a charlatan, as your Edinburgh Reviewer called me." His wish has been fulfilled; the Phrenological Society of Boston has preserved his skull, and his brain also, in alcohol; both are locked up in an iron safe, and form a very interesting addition to their collection of casts and skulls. The safe was opened to-day in presence of a committee of the society, and I inspected its contents. The skull is rather thicker than the average of British healthy skulls; the diploe presents large cells, but the surfaces are dense. It is thickened over Combativeness and Conscientiousness. The superorbital plate of the skull is both broad from side to side, and long from the front backwards, indicating a large anterior lobe of the brain. The convolutions have left strong indentations in the bone, particularly those of the organ of language. Under them the skull is very thin. The skull is thin also at Constructiveness, and there is a considerable sinus at Individuality and Size; but these organs are nevertheless large in the brain. I have heard Dr. Spurzheim converse fluently in German, French, and English, and he wrote these three languages grammatically. I am not certain whether he spoke Italian, but rather infer from some incidental remarks of his that he did. He lectured without notes; and his language was exceedingly appropriate and pregnant with meaning. The brain is in perfect preservation; it is large, and shows a large anterior lobe and large coronal region, the convolutions here being plump and round. The base also is well developed; but as it is floating in alcohol and hermetically sealed, I could examine it only through the glass. I perceived, however, that Coloring is deficient. The convolutions of Language and Form are large. The convolutions of the Love of Life and Destructiveness are large. Those of Alimentiveness are less, and he was extremely temperate in his habits.

He was in his fifty-sixth year at the time of his death, and apparently changes had already begun to take place in his skull. During life he used to complain of his deficiency of Combativeness. The rude and illiberal attacks that were made by the press, not only on his opinions, but on his character as a man, roused his Destructiveness and made him angry; but his deficiency in Combativeness rendered it extremely disagreeable to

him to enter the lists as a combatant, in his own defence. He had a perfect command over his Destructiveness, but he felt its power. I have heard him say, "I am too angry to answer this at present; I must wait till I am cool;" and he would wait for weeks or months, until he could give a calm and philosophical reply.

November 16. Therm. 47°. *The Institution for the Blind.*—We visited this institution again, and examined it in detail. We were much gratified with its admirable management and complete ventilation, and with the provision for the physical, moral, and intellectual advancement of the pupils, under the enlightened direction of Dr. Howe; but as I surveyed it a third time in 1839, I reserve my remarks till that period. I may here, however, introduce an anecdote which Dr. Howe told me, and which I subsequently used as an illustration in my lectures. It showed the

*Effects of Exercise in improving the Dispositions.*—A boy, who was extremely mischievous, was sent to him as a pupil. He was so full of destructive energy, that he broke the benches, tore the chairs asunder, swung on the doors till he wrenched them off their hinges, and perpetrated all sorts of mischief on frangible objects; while he was so restless, that he was incapable of bending his attention to books. Dr. Howe reasoned with him, appealed to his moral sentiments, and did every thing in his power to improve his habits by means of moral suasion; but with little success. He was satisfied that there must be causes for these dispositions, and endeavored to discover them. He observed that the boy had large lungs, and a high sanguine temperament which gave him great strength and restless activity; also large organs of Destructiveness, that prompted him to exert those qualities habitually in injuring the objects around him. He thought of providing him with a legitimate field for the exercise of his dispositions. He sent him into the cellar every morning, for three hours together, to saw and split wood for the use of the institution. This exercise had the desired effect. After undergoing it for some time, he became quite willing to sit still in school and receive instruction with the other boys; and the benches and chairs were safe. The boy himself was delighted with the change, and soon sawed and split up all the wood in the cellar. He was then set to running, leaping, climbing poles, and disporting himself in various ways, in the gymnasium of the institution; and Dr. Howe found that so long as a legitimate and adequate vent for his excessive muscular energy was provided, he conducted himself with propriety, and was capable of mental application.

## CHAPTER VII.

Journey from Boston to New York—Phrenology—Social Customs—New York City—Calvinism—Thanksgiving-day—Civic Pauper Establishment—Asylum for the Blind—Phrenology—Lunatic Asylum at Bloomingdale—Colonel Burr—Martin Van Buren—Houston Street Public School—Defect in American Institutions—Homœopathy—The Press—Mercantile Library Association—Public Defaulters—Tobacco-Chewers—Physical Education—Morality of New York—Native Education in India—Law of Copyright—Negro Slavery—Electro-Magnetic Machine—Health of the Clergy.

1838.

Nov. 16. *Journey from Boston to New York.*—We left Boston this day at 3 P. M. by the railroad, *via* Providence, Stonington, and Long Island Sound, for New York. We arrived at Providence between five and six o'clock; here left the cars, and crossed the Providence River in a steamboat. It was dark, and the bustle was great. We started again in railway cars; each containing twenty-four persons and a blazing stove. We arrived at Stonington at 9 P. M., and immediately embarked on board a steamboat. It was very large, and the whole hull was fitted up into two sleeping apartments; five-sixths of the length was devoted to the gentlemen, and the remainder to the ladies. The gentlemen's cabins contained 150 beds, in three tiers extending along each side. We paid \$7 each at Boston for the whole fare, and got a ticket indicating the numbers of our beds. There are large blue curtains hanging in front of the beds, which are let down and run forward on brass rods, about a foot from the beds, so as to screen the passengers when undressing, and to produce a sort of privacy. The benefits of fresh air, however, are excluded. There is no provision for ventilation. At one o'clock A. M. I wakened with a painful sense of suffocation, and rose. I found all the windows closed, the cabin doors shut, two great stoves, at least twenty argand lamps, and more than one hundred pairs of lungs, all consuming air, without one aperture intentionally provided to allow it to enter! I found all the passengers and servants asleep, proceeded quietly up the cabin stairs, opened and fastened back two doors to admit fresh air, took a walk on the upper deck,

enjoyed the clear bright star light, and then descended and slept soundly, without having undressed.

Nov. 17. *Long Island Sound and the East River.*—We should have reached New York this morning at six, but the boiler of one of the steam-engines became unserviceable, and it was nine before we arrived. The day was beautifully clear and frosty. The sail in Long Island Sound must be lovely in summer, for even now it is interesting. About fifteen or twenty miles from New York, the Sound, which has run northeast and southwest, suddenly narrows and turns to the south. At this point, the United States are erecting an enormous battery to stop the approach of an enemy to New York in this direction. On the east lies Long Island, and on the west Manhattan Island, on which New York stands. The narrow channel between them, although a continuation of the Sound, is named East River. The tide rushes through it with great violence. About three miles from New York, we passed Blackwell's Island, which stands in the middle of the stream, having a narrow channel and a rapid current on each side. It is about a mile long, and varies from 500 to 1000 yards in breadth. It contains 120 acres, and was lately purchased by the civic corporation of New York for \$32,000. They have erected a prison capable of containing 480 individuals at the south end, and a large and handsome lunatic asylum at the north end of it.

I have frequently read in the New York newspapers, letters from American travellers, complaining of the shameless impositions which are practised on them when they first land in Britain. Perhaps they do not know, that the same evil awaits English travellers when they first appear on the American shores. When we landed from the Great Western in September, we allowed a carter to take our baggage from the wharf to the Carlton-House Hotel, without making any previous bargain with him. He charged us 16s. sterling. On the present occasion, we arrived from Boston, and were taken for "Yankees," who have the reputation of being persons whom it is very difficult to cheat. We had all our former and two additional packages. I asked a carter for what sum he would carry the whole to the Carlton House, and his demand was \$1 25 cents, or 5s. 3d.! In both instances the distance was nearly the same.

Nov. 19. Thermometer 32°.—*New York.*—*Phrenology.*—I commenced my course of lectures in the Clinton Hall this evening at 7 o'clock. The arrangements were made by a committee before my arrival, and were essentially the same as at Boston. Each lecture lasted two hours, with an interval of five minutes, and three were delivered in each week. I found



the lecture-room provided with a powerful ventilator for introducing warm or cold air as wanted, but without any aperture for permitting the vitiated air to escape. During the interval, I had the doors and windows thrown open, at first to the astonishment, but subsequently to the great satisfaction, of my audience.

Nov. 20. Ther. 31°. Nov. 21. Ther. 33°. Nov. 22. Ther. 31°. Nov. 23. Ther. 44. Nov. 24. Ther. 40½°.—*Social Customs*.—During these days, my whole time has been consumed in receiving and returning visits; many of them exceedingly agreeable and gratifying; but from 8 A. M. to 10 P. M. an incessant stream of strangers, in whom it was impossible for me to take any interest, introduced themselves and repeated each the same string of questions, received the same answers, and departed, never to be seen or heard of again. Of these, some were evidently actuated by the kindest feelings, and meant their visits as marks of respect; but others were obviously moved by sheer curiosity. It would be a very great improvement, if some limits could be placed on the hours in which calls could be made on strangers.

*New York City*.—I have asked several intelligent persons what is the cause of the disorderly condition of the lower portions of this town, and find two reasons assigned for it. First, a large sea-port necessarily draws together a numerous population of inferior habits, and a constant influx and efflux of foreigners and strangers, many of whom are in a state of destitution, and some are the outcasts of European and American society; and, secondly, universal suffrage, without a register of voters, prevails; and not only are the great officers of the state and members of the legislature elected by the people, but in the city all the municipal officers from the mayor to the constables are chosen annually in the same manner. The lower classes form the great majority of voters, and any magistrates who should propose either to tax the city for the expense of a proper cleaning establishment, or of a police force sufficient to enforce order, would be deprived of their offices at the end of the first year. In this city, universal suffrage appears in its worst form and is followed by its worse effects; and I frequently remarked to the higher classes of American citizens, who suffer from and lament these evils, that the United States generally ought not to be regarded as answerable for the condition of New York. It is the refuge of thousands of every grade, flying not only from misfortune, but from the criminal law in all parts of Europe and America.

November 25. The thermometer fell to 17° in the forenoon, with a high wind, and the weather was bitterly cold.

*Calvinism.*—We heard Dr. Spring preach a highly orthodox sermon to a numerous and very respectable-looking congregation. I have listened to orthodox sermons in Scotland for upwards of thirty-five years, and have long ceased to hear a new idea from the pulpit. I find Calvinism precisely the same in America as on the other side of the Atlantic; so purely doctrinal, and so little practical; so completely systematic, and bearing so little reference to any particular time, place, or circumstances, that every preacher of it seems to repeat all other preachers.

November 29. Ther. 23°. *Thanksgiving Day.*—This is "Thanksgiving Day" in New York. Service is performed in all the churches, in which gratitude is expressed to God for his mercies, and the evening is spent in domestic festivities. The Governor issues a proclamation *recommending* (not enjoining) its observance, and all the sects obey. The stores were shut during divine service, but in the evening, many were open.

*Civic Pauper Lunatic and Prison Establishments.*—I availed myself of the leisure which the day afforded, to visit the Alms-House, Lunatic Asylum, and Penitentiary at Bellevue, about three miles from New York, on the East River; also the Criminal Prison, and the new Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell Island; and the school for charity orphan and destitute children on Long Island, called the Farm Schools. All these institutions are under the management of the civic corporation of the city. Some of the buildings at Bellevue are old, ill-adapted to their purposes, and crowded, and, in consequence, the inmates are not properly accommodated. The New Prison is occupied, and seems to be well managed; but this was no day of rejoicing for the prisoners. Labor was suspended, and they had remained all day idle, locked up in their solitary sleeping cells. The New Lunatic Asylum is a handsome building, on the modern plan of such erections; but, strange to say, not the slightest arrangement had been made by the architect for ventilating it. The omission of apertures for this purpose struck one of the civic officers, who has a particular charge of these institutions, as an oversight, and he suggested the remedy of opening spaces between the plaster and the wall, from the bottom to the top of the building, making each room to communicate with them, and thus to carry off the vitiated air; which has been done. The children in the Farm Schools presented a melancholy aspect. The weather was cold, and as the cold had come on suddenly, many of them had not yet received their winter supply of stockings and shoes. They were crowding round the stoves with an expression of suffering and discomfort, which was distressing to behold. The buildings in which they live are frame or wooden houses, divided into moderate-sized rooms, low in the ceilings, and without any means

of ventilation except the doors and the windows. They sleep crowded together in these apartments; the beds stand so close to the windows, and the air is so cold, that they are not open during the night, and the air is excessively vitiated before the morning. The consequences are visible in the appearance of the children; many of them are suffering under ophthalmia, and they present generally that sunken, inanimate, and unhappy aspect which betokens blood in a bad condition from imperfect nutrition and impure air. There is, I believe, no stinting of food; but the digestive functions suffer from the confinement in an unwholesome atmosphere, and hence the nutrition is imperfect.

On my return to the city, I made inquiries of several persons how it happened that these institutions are in a condition so unworthy of a great city, and various reasons were assigned. They lie upwards of three miles from the town, and so many pressing public duties are imposed on the members of the civic council, that they have not adequate time to visit them. One excellent person, whose attention was particularly directed to them, saw and proclaimed their imperfections to the council, but he could not succeed in drawing sufficient attention to their condition. Again; most of the buildings are old, and money is indispensable for their improvement. In New York, the whigs and democrats are nearly equally balanced, and each party makes "political capital" out of every increase of expenditure and taxation proposed by the other, and hence the party which should improve these institutions too rapidly at the expense of the citizens would lose their places. Economy there, as everywhere else, is the watchword of opposition; and in New York the people are disposed to place the advocates of it in power. Farther: In this city vast improvements, partly for the introduction of water, are actually in progress; many more are wanted; and the rulers are compelled to accomplish those works first which are advocated by the most influential persons. The poor, the insane, and the criminal have few, and these not noisy, advocates, and their interests are postponed. Lastly, it is an *unpopular duty* to expose the imperfections of any American institutions, and hence the actual condition of some of these establishments is really unknown to the great body of the upper classes of the city, who would otherwise be well disposed towards their improvement.

As some of the civic rulers, and a number of influential citizens, were attending my lectures, and as, in treating of physical education and insanity, I could legitimately introduce remarks on these institutions, I proposed to avail myself of this means of calling public attention, in the most respectful and delicate manner possible, to the condition of the poor children in the Farm

Schools especially, but was told that the interference of a foreigner would give offence, and retard instead of advancing the object of improvement. Having more confidence, however, than my advisers, in the good sense and right feeling of my audience, and having no object except doing good in view, I did venture to mention in my lecture on physical education the want of provision for ventilation in the new Lunatic Asylum, and also the crowded and unwholesome condition of the pauper children in the Farm Schools. The remarks appeared in the "Daily Whig" newspaper, which regularly reported all my lectures, and no offence was taken, at least none was expressed to me.

Dec. 2. Thermometer 40°. We heard the Rev. Mr. Dewey preach an excellent practical discourse on the relative duties of parents and children. His composition and delivery are dramatic in effect; he paints his ideas, and places them almost tangibly before the mind, yet his manner is calm and soft, altogether free from theatrical gesticulations. This description may appear to imply a contradiction, yet it is literally correct.

Dec. 4. Ther. 32°. *Asylum for the Blind*.—We visited the Asylum for the Blind under the charge of Mr. Silas Jones. Mr. Jones has a large head, ample anterior lobe, large Benevolence, and Love of Approbation, with a sanguine nervous-lymphatic temperament, and is the very picture of joyousness and health. He has lectured publicly on Phrenology for a number of years, and published an instructive work on the subject, and has only recently been appointed to this institution. He practises Phrenology in his teaching, and selects his domestics by their heads.\* We heard the pupils examined, and were gratified to observe their attainments in education, and the comfort which they enjoyed. They are good musicians, and take great pleasure in playing in concert. They weave rugs and mats, and make baskets and other articles of simple construction.

*Phrenology*.—One young lad in the asylum has a very large organ of Number, and is a great mental calculator. A little girl is extremely deficient in it, and she could never learn arithmetic. I sympathised with her, as I labor under a similar defect both of the organ and the power. This is a small organ, and from its position, outward from the external angle of the eye, there is difficulty in observing its dimensions accurately except in extreme cases. In these, however, its local situation and its functions are so clearly discernible, as to leave no room for doubt. I confess myself to be so deficient in the power of calculation, and in the development of the organ to such an extent, as to be

\* The conditions under which this is done by Phrenologists are stated in my *System of Phrenology*, p. 717, fourth edition.

incapable of learning the multiplication table; and I continue unable to add, subtract, and divide sums, even of a moderate magnitude, correctly, after thirty years of practice. I have observed, on previous occasions, that in the great majority of individuals who are born and continue blind, the organ of coloring presents an obvious deficiency in size, while it is developed to an average extent in those who have become blind only after the period of full growth; and in this asylum the same fact was found to present itself. It shows that an organ habitually deprived of its natural stimulus does not attain its full natural dimensions—an important point in education.

*Lunatic Asylum at Bloomingdale.*—We next visited this institution, situated six or seven miles north of New York, on the east bank of the Hudson. It is a handsome edifice, containing large and well-kept apartments, and it seems to be humanely managed. There appears, however, to be a defect in not enforcing labor as part of the sanative treatment. There are yards for exercise, and ground in which the patients may work in the proper season, but labor is not part of the discipline of the house. This evil is general in Asylums for the higher classes of patients, who regard labor as a degradation. The inmates pay board according to the accommodation furnished to them. Among the patients is an old soldier of the Revolutionary war, who asked us what news there were abroad, and if the war was flourishing? His eye was still sparkling, although its socket was furrowed by a thousand wrinkles. Another patient announced that he had lately made an important discovery—a method of navigating the flames of hell-fire by means of steam!

In the course of conversation, a case was mentioned to me as having occurred in the experience of a highly respectable physician, and which was so fully authenticated, that I entertain no doubt of its truth. The physician alluded to had a patient, a young man, who was almost idiotic from the suppression of all his faculties. He never spoke, and never moved voluntarily, but sat habitually with his hand shading his eyes. The physician sent him to walk as a remedial measure. In the neighborhood, a beautiful young girl of sixteen lived with her parents, and used to see the young man in his walks and speak kindly to him. For some time he took no notice of her; but after meeting her for several months, he began to look for her, and to feel disappointed if she did not appear. He became so much interested, that he directed his steps voluntarily to her father's cottage, and gave her bouquets of flowers. By degrees he conversed with her through the window. His mental faculties were roused; the dawn of convalescence appeared. The girl was virtuous, intelligent, and lovely, and encouraged his visits when

she was told that she was benefiting his mental health. She asked him if he could read and write? He answered no. She wrote some lines to him to induce him to learn. This had the desired effect. He applied himself to study, and soon wrote good and sensible letters to her. He recovered his reason. She was married to a young man from the neighboring city. Great fears were entertained that this event would undo the good which she had accomplished. The young patient sustained a severe shock, but his mind did not sink under it. He acquiesced in the propriety of her choice; continued to improve, and at last was restored to his family cured. She had a child, and was soon after brought to the same hospital perfectly insane. The young man heard of this event, and was exceedingly anxious to see her; but an interview was denied to him, both on her account and his own. She died: He continued well, and became an active member of society. What a beautiful romance might be founded on this narrative!

December 6. Ther. 42°. *Colonel Burr.*—I examined an authentic cast from nature, taken after death, of the head of the celebrated Colonel Burr, who killed General Hamilton in a duel, and afterwards attempted to get up an insane expedition from Blannerhasset's Island in the Ohio, the precise object of which is not well ascertained. He died at an advanced age, and the brain may have shrunk: the head at death was of average size; the intellectual region was moderately well developed; the organs of Individuality, Size, and Weight predominating. The organs of Amativeness, Philoprogenitiveness, Combativeness, Destructiveness, Secretiveness, Self-esteem, and Firmness, were large. Those of the moral sentiments, particularly Conscientiousness, were remarkably deficient. The moral region was shallow, and also narrow. In short, it was that kind of head which is generally found in criminals. It indicated sensual, fierce, vindictive, cunning, and selfish dispositions, unrestrained by justice or humanity, but combined with great courage, determination, and perseverance. The intellect is acute, but neither profound nor comprehensive. Burr was an infamous and heartless seducer; a vindictive duellist; and an adept in plausibility and falsehood. He enjoyed some degree of intellectual reputation, but his general conduct showed that he was a shallow politician, a nonentity as a statesman, and a third-rate lawyer. He loved his daughter dearly, and this was almost his only virtue.

*Martin Van Buren.*—On the same occasion, I saw a cast from nature of the head of Mr. Martin Van Buren, the present President of the United States. The head is large; the anterior lobe is of ample dimensions in both regions. The base of the brain is largely developed; the coronal region is both broad

and high. Secretiveness, Cautiousness, and Love of Approbation are very large, and Self-esteem is large. Acquisitiveness and Ideality are fully developed. Benevolence and Veneration are large. Firmness is rather less than Veneration, but not deficient, and Conscientiousness is only rather full, being the smallest of the moral organs. This head indicates power, and on the whole presents many of the elements of an estimable character. The combination of great Cautiousness and Secretiveness, however, with Conscientiousness and Firmness relatively less, will produce a tendency to prefer indirect to direct means of accomplishing an end. In difficult situations dexterity and address will be more relied on than open manly courage, and an apparent expediency will sometimes be preferred to justice. The intellect is capable at once of managing details, and taking in comprehensive views, and if, as is affirmed, appearances of mystification occasionally present themselves in his public conduct, they are not owing to imperfect intellectual perceptions, but are designed to serve a purpose. The combination of the whole organs resembles that which one would expect in a dexterous and successful courtier in an absolute monarchy, rather than in the president of a democracy.

It is impossible at present to obtain an impartial account of Mr. Van Buren's character in America. His political enemies ascribe to him the worst and meanest qualities, while his political friends confer on him every virtue and accomplishment. Judging from his head, I should be inclined to anticipate that posterity will probably not approve of all the means which he may have used to obtain and to preserve power, but that it will recognise him as having been actuated essentially by a love of the real good of his country, and having pursued it, in difficult circumstances, with no mean talent.

*Houston Street Public School.*—This school-house is a large new building, with a play-ground round it. The basement floor, sunk below the level of the street, is occupied by children from two to five or six years of age. There are nearly 150 of them in one apartment. It is low in the ceiling, and has no means of ventilation except the windows. The children are taught Wilderspin's exercises with the hands, marching and singing, in addition to reading. In the floor immediately above, are about 300 girls in one apartment. They learn reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and, if inclined, drawing. The room is high in the ceiling, and very light; and the girls looked clean, animated, and healthy. They read and spelled exceedingly well; but their book was Lindley Murray's Sequel to the English Grammar, and the part selected was the embassy of Coriolanus's wife and mother to induce him to spare Rome. In

looking over the contents of their books, I could not help regretting, that in a country where so many important duties are devolved on women, and where they have so little time, after they leave school, for acquiring useful knowledge, some instruction more directly related to their condition than is contained in these works, should not be presented to them as part of their education. The writing of the girls is excellent. They are taught first on slates.

On the upper floor were about 300 boys, in a large, well lighted apartment, which is also well ventilated by means of large apertures in the ceiling. Their appearance also was pleasing. They recited in geography extremely well; but these children, from the youngest to the oldest, are not taught from objects, or made acquainted with the properties and modes of action of any thing that exists. The boys receive a few lessons in astronomy, but the whole remaining departments of natural science are shut out from them.

*Defect in American Institutions.*—One defect in the American institutions and social training at present appears to me to be, that they do not sufficiently cultivate habits of deference, prudence, and self-restraint. They powerfully call forth all the faculties that subserve the interests and ambition of the individual; but they leave the higher social qualities imperfectly exercised and ill-directed. There is no training of veneration, except in religious tuition, which is too often confined to vague moral instruction, and to the points of faith regarded as essential to salvation. Making allowance for individual exceptions, it may be stated, that an American young man, in emerging from schools, has scarcely formed a conception that he is subject to any natural laws, which he must obey in every step of his progress in life, or suffer. He has not been taught the laws of health, the laws by which the production and distribution of wealth are regulated, or the laws which determine the progress of society; nor is he trained to subject his own inclinations and will to those or any similar laws as indispensable to his well-being and success. On the contrary, he comes forth a free-born, self-willed, sanguine, confident citizen, of what he considers to be the greatest, the best, and the wisest nation on earth, and he commences his career in life guided chiefly by the inspirations of his own good pleasure. He votes and acts on the destinies of his country in the same condition of mind. In Britain, we cannot boast of much superiority in practical education, but our young men are not ushered into life so early; they are trained by the institutions and circumstances by which they are surrounded, to a greater exercise of prudence and self-restraint, and few of them wield political power.



It was my endeavor to explain to the Americans the importance of the new philosophy to a people in their present condition. Phrenology brings home to every mind capable of ordinary reflection, that all our functions and faculties, bodily and mental, are regulated by the Creator according to fixed laws; that within certain limits they produce enjoyment, and beyond these, misery. By teaching children this view of their own constitution, and also rendering them familiar with the physical, organic and moral laws, instituted by the Creator, and *by training them to obey them*, that reckless self-confident spirit which now animates many of them in the United States would be supplanted by a disciplined understanding and regulated affections. Their institutions render them indisposed to reverence man, or human wisdom; but still they may venerate God and practically fulfil his laws. Indeed this species of moral and intellectual discipline appears to me to be indispensable to the permanence and success of a democracy. If the Americans do not adopt it, and rely on it as their sheet-anchor, no other means which ordinary sagacity can discover, will lead them safely through the perils that will rise thicker and thicker in their path, in proportion as their population becomes more dense.

The children attending this public school, meet at 9 A. M., and continue in school till 12. They are then sent into the playground for half an hour, and eat their dinner. They next resume their lessons till 3. They practise various manual exercises and evolutions calculated to circulate the blood and relieve attention; but still, this long period of continuous exertion is too great a draft on their attention. In my lectures I endeavored to convince my audience that man thinks by his brain, as he walks by his muscles, and that as they would not impose a walk of six hours, with a rest of only half an hour, on young children, it is equally unwise to demand from their immature and still feeble brains that amount of exertion. The evil is both felt and acknowledged, but the reason assigned for the rule is, that if the children are once allowed to leave the school, many of them do not return till the next day; the distance to which they go, their own habits of self-will and self-indulgence, and the aversion of the parents to enforce discipline, combine to render it impossible for the teachers to secure regular attendance. This is a serious evil, and is one form in which the spirit of independence shows itself disadvantageously, even at this early period of life.

*Homeopathy.*—Dr. William Channing, a physician of talent and respectability, is a great advocate for homeopathy in this city. He has published an able and eloquent exposition of its

principles, in a "Discourse on the Reformation of Medical Science;" but it meets with much opposition.

*The Press.*—I have had one specimen of the freedom which is sometimes used in publishing private remarks in the newspapers. There are in this country a considerable number of "Practical Phrenologists," who travel from place to place, give one, two, or three lectures free, to excite attention, and then examine heads and write characters for fees. When I have been told of the injury which these men do to Phrenology, I have answered that the educated men and philosophers are to blame for the consequences, because they neglect or decline to study and to teach Phrenology as a science; that being a useful and important natural truth, it cannot die; and that if it be refused admission into schools and colleges, it will seek refuge in the lyceums of villages. A friend of one of these "practical men" came to me to have my opinion of him. He, like fifty other persons, introduced himself, began with talking about things in general, and by degrees introduced the name of the individual in question, soliciting my opinion of him, but without giving me the least hint of any object he had in view, or even that he was interested in him. I stated all the good of him I could, and also mentioned several points in regard to which I thought him in the wrong. The friend, without my knowledge, published in one of the newspapers my favorable remarks, omitting the rest. The first notice that I received of the publication, was being asked by a gentleman whether I had "endorsed" all the errors and absurdities of the individual alluded to? I replied, Certainly not, and gave him authority to state that the paragraph in the newspaper had appeared without my knowledge or approbation. This proceeding may have been dictated by good feeling, and it led to no unpleasant results; but the principle of action involved in it is dangerous and improper.

*Mercantile Library Association.*—This evening I lectured to the Mercantile Library Association, on physical education, and the attendance must have approached to 700 persons. They have an extensive and well selected library, supported by 4000 members, who pay two dollars per annum each for the use of it and the reading-room. They provide lectures on the Tuesday and Friday evenings, during the winter season, for a fee of two dollars each person; and they have classes for particular branches of instruction, the fee to each of which is \$8 per annum. The lectures are delivered by the most eminent and talented men of the Union, but as each chooses his own subject, they are very desultory. The association pays as high as \$50 for a lecture, when the individual and subject are attractive. At the present time it is proposed to engage permanently, four or more compe-

tent professors, whose duty it shall be to prepare and deliver, during the greater part of the year, successive and systematic courses of lectures upon the various branches of knowledge, most useful to those who are to be future merchants. These are stated to be, "The Principles of Commerce, including Commercial Jurisprudence, and Social and Political Economy," which will form the department of one professor;—"Statistics of Commerce and the Arts, Commercial History and Geography, Agriculture, Mining," &c., to form the department of the second professor;—"Natural Philosophy, including Inorganic and Organic Chemistry, and Natural History in its Commercial Applications," to form the department of the third professor. That of the fourth to include "History, Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Æsthetics," &c.

In the existing condition of elementary education in the United States, it may be questionable whether continuous and instructive courses of lectures will be well attended in the cities. I fear not; and the desultory system may be naturally the long prelude to higher objects. If the elements of natural science were once introduced into the common schools, so as to open the minds of the young to the deep interest and importance of such studies, the people would demand a higher instruction in lectures. In the mean time, it is consolatory to remark that the extent to which lecturing prevails, is a striking indication of mental activity, and it will, I sincerely trust, ultimately lead to important consequences.

December 8. Thermometer 40°. *Public Defaulters.*—Ever since we arrived in this country, we have read and heard a great deal about the elopement of Mr. Swartwout, collector of customs at New York, deeply indebted to the public treasury. A verb has been coined from his name, and every person who absconds with his employer's property in his possession is said to "swartwout." The subject has been invested with fresh interest by the sudden disappearance of William M. Price, Esq., district attorney for the southern district of New York, who also, according to the newspapers, is largely indebted to the public. I have learned the following particulars regarding the system pursued in the appointment of public officers.

By law, the public officers of the United States are appointed by the president, and approved of by the senate, and hold their offices during pleasure. Before General Jackson's presidency, the practice was to regard the appointments as virtually made during life and good behavior, *ad vitam aut culpam*. It is particularly mentioned that Mr. John Quincy Adams, when president, being strongly urged to dispossess Mr. Thomson from the

office of collector of customs for New York, requested the secretary to the treasury to report, how long Mr. Thomson had held the office, and what was the state of his accounts. The report bore that Mr. Thomson had discharged the duties of collector for twelve years, had once been in arrear to the extent of sevenpence halfpenny, or some such sum, and had paid up the balance immediately on its existence being certified to him, (for it had arisen from an error in his figures). Mr. Adams said that he saw no reason which could authorise him to remove Mr. Thomson from his office.

Under General Jackson, however, the maxim was announced that "the spoils belong to the victors;" in other words, that the offices of the state belong to the triumphant party; and this principle was then acted on, and has since been pretty extensively followed (I am assured) by both whigs and democrats. Another form of speech for the same idea, is "rotation in office, no monopoly of power." The phrase "the spoils belong to the victors," seems to have been understood literally and acted on by some of the functionaries. I heard it positively asserted in society that General Jackson had been warned, and was offered evidence to show, that Mr. Swartwout was not a man to be trusted in such an office; but nevertheless, as he was a powerful political partisan, and a personal friend, the president appointed him to it. Many persons speak in favor of Mr. Swartwout as having discharged the duties of his office in a liberal and accommodating spirit, and regret that he was so far misled as to believe the public money to be his own legitimate "spoils."

It became the duty of Mr. Price to prosecute Mr. Swartwout, who had retired with the "spoils" to Europe; but instead of doing so, he chose suddenly to follow him into exile. It is stated in the "Daily Whig" newspaper of this date, on the authority of "an eye-witness," that "the United States' flag was flying at the peak of the Liverpool steam-ship, and directly under it a blue signal, with a white ball upon it. When all was ready, all the hawsers except one were let go. The signal next dropt to the deck, and three minutes after a carriage drove to the wharf, from which Mr. Price and his son got out, and went on board." The following letter appeared in the newspapers yesterday evening, and it is affirmed that in no other form did Mr. Van Buren become acquainted with its contents.

*"To the President of the United States.*

U. S. District Attorney's Office,  
NEW YORK, Dec. 6, 1838.

"SIR:—In the course of my public and personal relations with Samuel Swartwout, Esq. formerly collector of this district,

I have had no occasion to question either his intention or ability to absolve himself from all obligations to government or individuals.

“The Solicitor of the Treasury has officially requested me to superintend and control the proceedings against him and his sureties, for the collection by distress-warrant against his person, and the goods and chattels, lands and tenements, of both principal and sureties.

“Inasmuch as I doubt both that the claim against him (Swartwout) has been *truly* stated, and that the summary process to obtain it has been constitutionally issued by the Solicitor of the Treasury, I beg leave to decline any official connection with it. Under these circumstances, I cannot consent to become the instrument of their destruction. My office of District Attorney of the United States, is therefore hereby surrendered to you, with the hope that you will speedily direct an account to be stated between the Treasury department and myself, in order that I may be absolved from any personal liability in the premises.

“The amount of costs due to me for the unfinished business of the office I hold, will far exceed that which I have recently received from debtors of the government, and will, upon a final adjustment, entirely acquit me of any indebtedness to it.\* I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

“WILLIAM M. PRICE,

“District Attorney for the Southern  
“District of New York.”

I introduce these instances of malversation in public offices, and shall record others that fall under my observation, for this reason—that corruption in public men is one of the vices constantly urged against monarchical institutions; and it is instructive to observe, whether in a democracy there is that high-minded purity and disinterestedness in official persons which is generally expected, and which, if existing, would shed a moral lustre on the sovereignty of the people. A democracy must expect to be rigidly scrutinized on the subject of its integrity; because *justice* is its avowed foundation—equal-handed justice to all. If the United States exhibit to Europe the spectacle of public immorality flourishing under popular institutions, how are the friends of mankind to defend the great cause of political freedom?

Dec. 9. Therm. 20°. We attended the Episcopal church

\* It is proper to state, that shortly before I left the United States in June 1840, Mr. Price voluntarily returned to New York; but I have not heard how matters have been finally adjusted between him and the public.

in Broadway, of which Dr. Hawkes is pastor. He is highly orthodox, and his congregation is fashionable, and as large as his church can accommodate. Like all the other churches which we have visited in this country, it is most commodiously fitted up.

Dec. 11. Therm. 32°. *Tobacco Chewing*.—A Scotsman who has resided for a good many years in the United States, assured me that the following statement is essentially correct. A few years ago, a convention of clergymen of all denominations was held in New York, to promote Bible, missionary, and other religious societies, as to the utility of which they were all agreed. The inhabitants appointed a committee of themselves, who obtained the address of all the families who were willing to receive clergymen as guests during the convention, and ascertained the numbers each could accommodate. The clergy were distributed in the houses of these benevolent hosts; but the latter soon found their furniture and carpets distressingly damaged by the floods of tobacco juice which the clergy from the country districts poured out remorselessly upon them. At the next convention, very few names were presented to the committee; and, on inquiry, this damage was assigned as the cause. The matter was finally arranged by families sending their offers in these terms:—"Mr. A. B. will accommodate two clergymen, provided they do not chew tobacco." It is probable that this may be called an old "Joe Miller," as the Americans name all well-known disagreeable narratives; but whether it be old or new, I have seen occurrences that render it credible to me as a fact.(a.)

*Physical Education*.—I gave my second lecture on Physical Education to the Mercantile Library Association this evening. A skeleton and a number of anatomical drawings were introduced, and no objections to them were stated by the audience, which consisted of highly respectable persons of both sexes. This fact is mentioned solely on account of the charges of an absurd delicacy, which are sometimes made against the American women, who, it is said, put trousers on the legs even of their pianofortes. The views delivered were simple and elementary, such as are contained in the best works on Hygiene. I had heard so much of the great extent to which the Americans read, that I was afraid that I might appear to my audience as delivering a thrice-told tale; but they were very attentive, and I was afterwards informed by a medical friend, that although they hear a good many doctrines about health, they do not generally carry any salutary rules consistently into practice, and that a

(a) Difficulty has been experienced in Philadelphia in procuring a church for the meetings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, on account of the sputative practices of so many of the delegates.

rational exposition of the principles of Hygiene in lectures is still much wanted.

Dec. 12. Thermometer at 7 A. M. 40°; at 10 P. M. 22°. *Morality of New York.*—I have already remarked (p. 139) that New York is the rendezvous of the rogues of both Europe and America. A young Scotsman gave me an account of his own experience of the benevolence and honesty of his countrymen when he arrived here. He landed with \$700 in his pocket, and soon became acquainted with a gentleman from his native place, who had been settled here for some years. This friend introduced him to another Scotsman, who also was in business in the city. They both overloaded him with civilities, and were extremely anxious to *do* for him. They soon found an excellent opening for him. They introduced him to a person who carried on a lucrative trade, and just wanted a young active partner, with \$700 of capital, to realize a comfortable independence for both. A copartnery was formed, and a legal contract duly executed, by which he obtained a share in all the advantages, and became liable for a proportion of all the debts of the going trade. No sooner was it signed, than his friend, who had discovered the opening, immediately compelled him, as a partner of the firm, to pay him \$200, which the senior partner owed him, and to relieve him of an obligation for \$500, which he had granted as surety for the same person. In one week his \$700 were gone; and in another he was bankrupt and in jail. He then discovered that one of his countrymen who had so ardently interested himself in his welfare, had fled from the criminal law in Scotland, had changed his name, and was now exhibiting an exterior of respectability in New York! This is the story as it was told to me by the sufferer. It may be erroneous, or may have been colored by him, for his feelings were still strongly excited when I saw him; but it contains so much of the substance of what frequently takes place in this city, that I regard it as an illustrative anecdote, even although the particulars should not bear investigation. When these rascalities are reported in Europe, the Americans are supposed to be guilty of them all, because they are perpetrated in America; but this is not a just inference. The American rogues in this city are both numerous and dexterous; but Great Britain sends to it many who match them.

*Native Education in India.*—I have met in society here a very interesting person, Mr. William Adam, a native of Dunfermline in Scotland, who has been twenty-one years in India, and is now going to England in furtherance of a scheme for improving the education of the natives of that country. It has been mentioned to me that he went to India as an evangelical

missionary; was instrumental in converting Rammohun Roy to Christianity, and was in his turn converted by this learned Brahmin to Unitarianism. He has a large development of the moral organs, and good intellect, and appears to be a very talented, upright, and amiable man. I have read, cursorily (for it was lent to me only for a short time), his "Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal and in Behaar," and a "Consideration of the means adapted to the improvement and extension of public instruction in both Provinces, published by order of Government; Calcutta, 1838." Mr. Adam was originally appointed by Lord William Bentinck's government to conduct inquiries into the state of native education in Bengal only, and he subsequently received authority from the present government to extend them into the province of Behaar. This report shows *how* he proceeded; *what* he discovered; and *what* he recommended to be done.

He employed natives to go before him and explain the object of his inquiry, and to assure the people that no exaction or other exercise of power to their disadvantage was intended: He sent them, also, from house to house, to inquire into the numbers of the family, the caste and occupation of the head of it, and the schools which the children attended; and he verified the returns to these questions as well as he could. He presents the results in tables, including the number of schools, and their descriptions; the number of scholars attending each, and the pay of the teachers. The report is exceedingly interesting and instructive. It conveys a more vivid and clear idea of the character and condition of the natives of India than can be obtained within the same brief compass from any other source. There are more schools and more learning than most persons would expect to find; but the subjects taught are extremely humble, and often absurd. The natives have been so long accustomed to feel the influence of government only for evil and exaction, that they cannot form the conception of its doing any thing for their advantage; and he, therefore, recommends that the government should merely encourage their present schools and systems of teaching, and endeavor to improve them quietly, and thus by degrees to create some sparks of intelligence and some degree of confidence in the minds of the people. Mr. Adam, in conversation, confirmed the statement made by the Missionary, Dr. Duff, to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland a few years ago, that a foundation must be laid in the minds of the Hindoos by teaching them natural science, before they can embrace or comprehend Christianity; but he added, that unless they are taught in their vernacular tongues, the idea of improving them extensively is chimerical. Dr. Duff's



teaching is exclusively through the medium of English. In many districts, the natives are very nearly as much oppressed under the English as they formerly were under their native rulers.

Dec. 14. Thermometer 42°. *American Law of Copyright.*—The Americans deny copyright to any author or publisher of a work first published in a foreign country, and suffer some evils themselves in consequence. This state of the law greatly retards the growth of a native literature, because no publisher can afford to pay their own authors adequately, when a more lucrative trade can be driven by the plunder of European literature. It impedes the advance of their own people in those feelings, and in that species of knowledge that is particularly related to their own condition. They devour the miscellaneous productions of European minds, many of them deeply imbued with principles the most hostile to American improvement, while they afford little encouragement to the production of books suited to their own advancement. The Quarterly Review, Blackwood's Magazine, and similar works, are reprinted, and extensively read, and they cultivate and keep alive the principles of aristocracy and toryism among the Americans to a greater extent than is generally believed. These feelings are not publicly avowed, but they nevertheless exist; and if the national mind is left in its present state of imperfect instruction, their influence will extend in proportion as society advances in wealth and condensation. Another evil is, that the Americans must often rest contented with the first edition of an English work, if it has been reprinted by an influential man, long after the work has advanced through many editions, and received great improvements in its native land. The following facts illustrate this point.

Messrs. Harpers of New York reprinted and stereotyped Dr. Andrew Combe's work on Physiology applied to Health and Education, immediately after its appearance in England in 1834, and brought it out as a number of their "Family Library," in which form it was very widely circulated. In Britain the work went rapidly through several editions, in the course of which it was greatly improved, and much valuable practical matter was added. A request was made to the Messrs. Harpers, that since they had, without any advantage to the author, taken actual possession of his work, they should at least do him and the public the justice to reprint the improved edition, and not continue to circulate one in every way inferior. This request was not complied with, because the first edition was stereotyped, and they did not choose to incur the expense of reprinting another, al-

though by their own account they had already sold many thousand copies of the book. Feeling anxious that the new matter should, in some way be rendered accessible to American readers, the author sent out by me a copy of the seventh Edinburgh edition, and on his behalf I offered it for republication to respectable publishers in Boston, and inquired whether they would reprint it, and make him any allowance for it. They expressed their willingness to do so, and pay a fair per-centage on the sales, but added that in effect they could not do either; because although by law there is no copyright of British books in the United States, yet there is one by the *courtesy* of trade; for whoever first reprints an English work, secures the copyright of it to himself, and that as the Messrs. Harpers had obtained the right to this work by priority of publication, they could not interfere, even when the Messrs. Harpers continued to sell an inferior edition; and to this answer they all adhered.

I this day waited on the Messrs. Harpers—told them what I had done in Boston, and the answer I had received, and asked them to republish the book, and also to allow the author some recompense for the new matter, of which they were not in possession. They requested to see the new edition, and to consider of it. I sent for the work to Boston for their use, and meantime told them, that although the author could receive no benefit from the sales, he was so desirous that the American public should have access to the most improved edition, that if they and all other booksellers declined to reprint it, I should do so on his account, and employ the trade to sell the copies. Their answer was clear, and decided. “You may do in this respect as you see proper, but we reserve to ourselves the privilege of retaliating two blows for one on any man who shall republish it; this is our rule.” I asked an explanation of this announcement, and was told that the copyright by courtesy is defended in this manner. If any publisher interfere with it, the party aggrieved reprints, in the cheapest form, two of the offender’s own English reprints, and floods the market with them at the lowest possible price. The Harpers are rich, have extensive connections, and act so energetically in retaliating two blows for one, that no respectable publisher will interfere with them. I made inquiries at several respectable publishing houses in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, whether they would sell the work on commission if I reprinted it and stated in the preface the reason for doing so, namely, that the Messrs. Harpers continued to supply the public with an inferior edition; but no one would undertake even to sell it. They assured me that this branch of trade, viz. selling on commission, so extensively carried on in London, has scarcely an

existence in the United States. I asked the cause of this, and was informed that the extreme difficulty and expense of collecting accounts would swallow up any commission that could be afforded, and that, in point of fact, a large portion of the book trade in the United States is conducted by barter! I shall return to this subject.

## CHAPTER IX.

Negro Slavery—Electro-magnetic Machine—Health of the Clergy—Religious Liberty—The connection between Science and Religion—Exhibition of Modern Pictures—Phrenological Society of New York—Jersey City—Social Condition of New York—Public Opinion—Influence of the Clergy—Dissection of the Brain—Fires in New York—British Ignorance of the State of Religion in America—William Augustus Conway and Mrs. Piozzi—Attendance on Lectures and Resolutions of my Class—Christmas—Salaries of Public Officers—Life Assurance—Public Grounds deficient for Air and Exercise in New York.

1838.

*Negro Slavery.*—Nothing in the United States has surprised me so much as the general tone of the public mind and the press on the subject of slavery. The institutions of America profess to be based on justice, and certainly an all-pervading justice is indispensable to their permanence and success; yet the most cruel injustice is perpetrated on the Negro race, and defended, as if it were justice, by persons whose character and intelligence render them in every other respect amiable and estimable. This is a canker in the moral constitution of the country, that must produce evil continually until it is removed. Those who defend slavery deny the right of foreigners to interfere with it; they speak of it as a domestic institution, with which nobody has any concern except the legislatures of the States in which it exists, and on this ground the House of Representatives of the United States, at Washington, on the 11th December current, refused to receive any petitions on the subject. Mr. Atherton, member for New Hampshire, presented a series of five resolutions; the vote was taken on the first resolution, “Resolved, That this Government is of limited powers, and that, by the constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of the confederacy;” which was carried, “ayes, 198; noes, 6.” The practical result of this vote is, that they lay on the table, without reading, all petitions on the subject. The public sentiment is of such overwhelming force in the United States, that this vote indicates a very strong and general opinion among the people at large in accordance with it, so that the nation fairly identifies itself with the cause of slavery.(a)

(a) The nation identifies itself with the Constitution, which can neither be altered nor nullified by abolition or any other kind of petition; but only

There is unquestionably a constitutional difficulty in regard to Congress passing laws relative to slavery in the several states, as each is an independent sovereignty within its own territories; but Congress wields a powerful moral influence over the Union, and there are several forms in which its opinions on the subject may be legitimately expressed. The district of Columbia is a small territory in which is the capital, Washington, and which was ceded to Congress in sovereignty, that the national council might meet and deliberate in freedom, unawed by the power of any individual state. Congress has as extensive a jurisdiction over this district, as the legislatures of the states enjoy within their respective limits. Slavery exists here, and Congress refuses to abolish it. (b) Again, Congress has power to regulate trade between the different states. Negroes are regarded as merchandise in the American law, and Congress could legitimately pass laws preventing the sale and transfer of them from one state to another; (c) but in spite of numerous petitions presented by the abolitionists, it refuses to do any thing, even to express any opinion, in the form of resolutions, against this odious system!

I acknowledge that a foreigner has no right to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the institutions of a country which he visits; but he has an undoubted right to express his opinion concerning them. The moral sentiments have been bestowed on us by the Creator, and they revolt against cruelty and injustice in every form: they are the voice of the Divinity speaking within us: civilised man does not belong exclusively to any one nation; he feels a brotherhood with the whole human race; and he regards it as his duty to exercise all his moral power to abate suffering wherever it exists. In India, it was a native domestic institution, that widows should be permitted to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands; but the moral sentiments of civilised man were shocked with the practice. No American citizen who had visited India, and seen this atrocity flourishing under the eyes of the British government,

in a manner prescribed in one of its own articles. Virginia and the Carolinas might petition Congress to allow them the privilege of collecting the duties on customs for their own special benefit, just as constitutionally as Massachusetts and Connecticut could petition the same body to do away with slavery in the first mentioned states.

(b) Without the consent of Virginia and Maryland, which ceded the district of Columbia, such action would be a breach of clearly implied, if not written obligation.

(c) This is not correct: the jurisdiction of Congress extends over foreign, not domestic trade. It could no more prohibit the sale and transfer of negroes from one state to another, than it could those of cotton or wheat, as the Constitution now stands.

would have been condemned by his own countrymen, or by his own conscience, if, on his return to the United States, he had published the most solemn denunciations of the English authorities for permitting it to continue; and yet this was a far more defensible iniquity than slavery. The widows were nominally free to burn or not to burn themselves; the negroes are not free to choose between slavery and liberty: the voice of humanity, sounding from the shores of Europe, at length reached India, and shamed the British government into interdicting the practice; and now, in India, no whisper is heard from the widows, of cruelty or oppression, in being deprived of this horrible privilege. The same deep-toned voice of man's noblest powers, will peal from every quarter of the civilised world, and startle the ears, and rouse the consciences of the Americans, till they set the negroes free. Their own institutions proclaim either destruction to themselves or freedom to all, and this not on parchment merely, but through the irresistible power of God. If they nourish in the bosom of their country a system at open enmity with benevolence and justice, and if they harden their higher feelings in such a way as to become blind to its cruelty and injustice, it is morally impossible that minds thus perverted in their perceptions, can esteem and practise justice in all the other relations of life; and as soon as justice is generally abandoned as the polar star of the Union, its strength is gone. It may continue to adhere together while no strong conflicting interests arise among its members to tear it asunder; but whenever such appear—when the sentiment of justice is prostrate in the minds of the people, the end is not far distant.

It appears to me that the Americans do great injustice to themselves, in defending, as many of them do, the institution of slavery itself. It is a historical fact that they are not to blame for its introduction. It originated with England. In 1585, Queen Elizabeth personally took a share in the West India slave trade, and in 1662, Charles II gave the exclusive right to the queen dowager, the Duke of York, and others, to supply the West Indies with 3000 slaves. The English government patronised its introduction also into the American colonies.<sup>(a)</sup> In 1760, these colonies became anxious to limit the slave trade, and

(a) By an article in the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it was expressly stipulated that England should enjoy all the privileges of what was called the *Assiento* contract, by which her vessels were to supply the Spanish colonies with a certain number of slaves (3000) yearly. A part of the proceeds of this trade went into the privy purse of Queen Anne. And this was in the age immediately succeeding that of a Locke and a Tillotson, and in which the moralising Addison, and the so called philosophical Bolingbroke enlarged on ethical obligations.

passed laws imposing a duty on negroes imported into them. Great Britain refused to sanction any law having such a tendency. In the same year, South Carolina (then a British colony) passed an act of its own legislature to prohibit the further importation of slaves, but Britain rejected this act with indignation, and declared that the slave trade was beneficial to the mother country. The governor who passed the act was reprimanded, and a circular was sent to all the other colonial governors, warning them against a similar offence. England maintained the slave trade and slavery in her own colonies for many years subsequently to the acknowledgment of American independence; and it was only on 1st August 1834, that she at length did tardy justice to the negro race by declaring them free in all her colonial territories.

The Americans, therefore, are not the authors of the slavery which now disgraces their institutions; and every candid mind must acknowledge that there are great and formidable difficulties in the way of their abolishing it. But they do not take this position. They defend the practice itself, as one that is right and beneficial; they lose their temper and abuse those who view it differently; and Congress steadily resists every solicitation to pass any resolution, or to do any act, however trivial, that would imply a condemnation of it, even in the abstract.*(a)* If there were no God, and if man had no moral nature, I could understand such conduct being by possibility prudent and beneficial; but since it is indisputable that a just Deity governs the world, and since man is endowed with moral faculties, the dictates of which it is not in his power permanently to stifle, it is foolish to attempt to defend wrong and call it right. This is only postponing the time when the evil must be dealt with in a different spirit, and allowing it every day to become more formidable. Agitation for abolition has commenced, and increases. It argues ignorance of human nature to dream that it will ever cease until it has accomplished its object. The true friend of the United States, therefore, while he regards them as having inherited from the British government the great evil of slavery, must acknowledge it to be a calamity, and desire its termination.*(b)*

*(a)* The practice is not generally, even in the slave-holding states, defended, as one that is right and beneficial: it is a subject of much and conscientious solicitude in the minds of a vast number of slaveholders, many of whom have been and still are taking measures for the abatement of the evil, with a view to its entire removal. The over zeal of abolitionists makes them blind to this fact. Simple declamation will never bring about a reform, the elements of which involve mixed ethical considerations, as well as those of political contract and political economy.

*(b)* If we date from the first settlement of Barbadoes in 1625, and the conquest of Jamaica in 1655, we find that English sovereignty was con-

Dec. 15. Ther. 35°. *Electro-Magnetic Machine.*—Captain George Taylor kindly permitted me to see an electro-magnetic machine which he has invented. The moving power is contained in two small tubs, ten or twelve inches in diameter, and about six or eight inches deep. In each are seven plates of copper and seven of zinc, sulphuric acid, and common salt. The machine consists of a circular external frame, within which a shaft revolves on its axis placed in the middle of the circle. At each end of the shaft is a horse-shoe magnet. In the circular frame, bars of iron are introduced at equal distances. The electric fluid is conveyed by wires from the troughs to the axis. It charges the horse-shoe magnet plus, and there is a strong attraction between them and the iron bars in the frame. The difficulty hitherto has been to prevent the attraction *backwards*, when the horse-shoe magnet stands between the iron bars, counterbalancing the attraction forward. Captain Taylor has obviated this difficulty. At the end of the axis he has a small circular wheel,

tinually exerted over and in support of slave-holding colonists for nearly two centuries; counting the termination of the system to have taken place in 1838, with the real emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies and other tropical islands. Nor is it likely, after all the declarations and declamations, the joint result of fanaticism and political intrigue in Great Britain, that a philanthropic solution of the difficulty would have been attempted, unless it had been ascertained as a question of political economy, that, in the general result, the pecuniary interests of the British empire would not suffer in consequence.

In looking at the course which the United States have pursued in the affair of slavery, we find that they will sustain not disadvantageously a comparison with their parent. A quarter of a century was not allowed to elapse after their peaceful exercise of independent sovereignty, before the slave trade was prohibited for ever. During this period, and afterwards also, the few but still odious remains of slavery in the Northern States underwent a gradual removal. A feeling of the justice and ultimate necessity of similar measures in the Southern and Western States, was entertained by a number of the slave-holders in these states, and they looked forward with some degree of confidence to the time when they could be carried out into successful execution. This feeling has always been strong, and on fitting occasions fully and frankly expressed by writing, in conversation and in legislative discussions, in Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware. Both with a view of accelerating emancipation, and of immediately creating a high standard of intellectual, social, and political display among the blacks themselves, as well as of providing a home, in which they could be secure from political and social tyranny, the friends of the race, and of humanity itself, selected a portion of territory on the coast of Africa, to which the recently emancipated were encouraged to emigrate. (See Appendix, Mr. Key's letter introduced by the author.) Public opinion and individual action, the proper prelude and inducements to state legislative enactments in the slave-holding states, were strongly in favor of the ultimate necessity of emancipation, before the fury of abolitionism began to rage; and even now they are tending towards their benevolent object in despite of this fury.



the circumference of which is composed partly of ivory and partly of steel. The electricity is applied to this wheel by means of a conductor. When the conductor touches the ivory, the stream of electricity is cut off, and the machine is constructed to produce this effect at the precise moment when the magnet has passed the centre of the bar. The momentum of the shaft carries it onwards, and whenever the magnet comes within attractive distance of the next bar of iron, the conductor meets with a steel surface in the wheel, and pours in a stream of electricity which causes the shaft to fly forward. This machine performed no labor, but its power seemed to me to be adequate to grind pepper or coffee in a small hand-mill.

Dec. 16. Ther. 32°. *Health of the Clergy.*—We heard Mr. Dewey preach a sermon on the text, "Love your enemies." In thought, expression, and delicacy, it was excellent. It is certain that a great number of the clergy of this country lose their health, which is generally, and I believe truly, ascribed to their unceasing labors. A very careful preparation is evident in their sermons. They also teach the young and visit their flocks extensively; and they obviously labor under a pretty constant anxiety about supporting their reputation. The Sunday is observed with as strict decorum here as in London.

Dec. 17. Ther. 32°. *Religious Liberty.*—At Boston, we were asked every Monday morning what church we had attended on Sunday. This question was put not in the spirit of persecution, to force us to attend church, but from a desire to hear our opinions of their churches and ministers. In New York, this question has not been asked; but to-day an Episcopalian clergyman from Virginia waited on me, introduced himself, and said that his rule was to reject all science that was at variance with the Bible; and as he had not time to study science itself, he judged of its accordance with Scripture, by the religious opinions of those who professed it; and if my religious creed was a sound one, (of course the same as his own,) he would be much inclined to believe in Phrenology, because he had attended several of my lectures here, and was much interested. He concluded by saying that there is a large number of religious persons in this country of the same mind with himself in regard to Phrenology.

I asked him whether he had read Archbishop Whately's observations on the relation between Science and Scripture. He said that he had not. I told him that the archbishop had said that the mode of proceeding which he had now mentioned is erroneous, and injurious equally to religion and philosophy; that there can be no *false* science, for if any doctrine be not true, it is not science at all; that real science is a mere statement of facts

existing in nature and their relations; and that if erroneous representations of these be given, there is an answer to them in nature, which religious, as well as other inquirers are bound to adduce; and I added, that, as I rest my claims to public attention as a phrenologist solely on the accordance of my doctrines with nature, my own religious opinions have no more connection with these facts, than the faith of a professor of mathematics has with the truth of the propositions of Euclid. I requested him to consider what a multitude of powerful sects exist in this country, each differing from the others in their interpretations of Scripture, and in what a strange predicament science would stand, if the members of each of them were to refuse to recognise it, unless its professors agreed with them in their religious belief; that there can be no such thing as Unitarian science, Evangelical science, Universalist science, and so forth; that I came to teach natural truth to all sects, and declined to identify Phrenology with any one of them; that my books and my life were before the world, and as a tree is known by its fruits, if any one felt an interest in my own religious opinions as an individual, he could judge of my faith from them. This exposition seemed not at all to meet the views of the reverend gentleman; but he was perfectly courteous and continued to attend the lectures.

*The connection between Science and Religion.*—This is a specimen of many conversations which I have been drawn into on the same subject, both at home and abroad, and I have very rarely indeed met with religious inquirers who admitted the possibility of natural science serving them as a means of correcting their own scriptural interpretations. Blind to the fact, that the various sects differ widely in their interpretations of Scripture, and that none of them is entitled to claim the attribute of infallibility to itself, the sincere professor of each doctrine proceeds as if no views except his own could by possibility be true. It is consolatory to observe that some of the higher divines of the Church of England rise above this narrow-minded fanaticism. Archbishop Whately has led the van in defence of science, and the Rev. Baden Powell, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford, has recently followed in his footsteps. In his work on “the connection of Natural and Divine truth,” he says, “Physical science is the necessary foundation of Natural Theology: *certain of the truths it discloses are warnings against mistaking the purport of Scripture; and the right use of the caution thus inculcated applies widely in the interpretation of Revelation.* Inductive philosophy is subservient both to natural and revealed religion. The investigation of God’s works is an essential introduction to the right reception of his word.”

If these remarks be well founded when applied to physical

science, they are more so when Phrenology is the subject of them. This science relates to man's moral and intellectual nature, one of the most important topics to which the Scriptures refer, and it requires only a small measure of reflection to perceive how directly it bears on the subject. If, for example, every faculty has received a special organ by which it manifests itself, it is undeniable that both organ and faculty proceed from the Creator. If each faculty has a legitimate sphere of action, the doctrine of original sin, as taught by some divines, must be founded on erroneous interpretations of Scripture; because man's nature cannot be wholly corrupt, if composed of powers every one of which has a legitimate natural sphere of action. If any faculty is without a legitimate sphere of action, then the Creator has instituted it to do evil, and man is its victim. Again, if individuals are naturally capable of exhibiting the Christian character in proportion, *cæteris paribus*, to the size of the moral and intellectual organs relatively to those of the animal propensities in their brains, one essential element in human improvement is an increase in the dimensions of the superior organs in relation to the inferior; yet there is no indication that this fact was ever proclaimed by the first promoters of Christianity. If that class of men in whom the organs of the animal propensities are very large, and those of the moral and intellectual faculties very deficient, be, in truth, morally idiotic (which I believe them to be) and if they constitute the great and habitual criminals who infest society—then, instead of being fit subjects for punishment here and hereafter, they are really patients who deserve our sympathy for their misfortunes, and who need our humane guardianship to restrain them from injuring society and themselves. Yet many of the interpretations of Scripture have been made in ignorance of these facts.

It is gratifying to observe that Professor Whewell, in his recent work, entitled "The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences founded upon their History," has entered fully, and in an excellent spirit, into a consideration of the relation between Science and Scripture. He lays it down as a safe rule, that "so long as the supposed scientific discovery is doubtful, the exposition of the meaning of Scripture given by commentators of established credit is not wantonly to be disturbed; but when a scientific theory, irreconcilable with this ancient interpretation, is clearly proved, we must give up the interpretation, and seek some new mode of understanding the passage in question, by means of which it may be consistent with what we know; for if it be not, our conception of the thing described is no longer consistent with itself." "The man of science is concerned, no less than any other person, in the truth and import of the divine dispen-

sation; the religious man, no less than the man of science, is, by the nature of his intellect, incapable of believing two contradictory declarations. Hence they have both alike a need for understanding the Scripture in some way in which it shall be consistent with their understanding of nature. It is for their common advantage to conciliate, as Kepler says, the finger and the tongue of God, his works and his word.”\*

Dec. 18. Ther. 32°. *Phrenology*.—I gave practical instructions in Phrenology this day to a few members of the Phrenological Society of New York. The course of proceeding was the same as that described at Boston.

I delivered my fourth lecture, on Mental Education, to an overflowing audience of the Mercantile Association, and was told by the secretary, that the lectures had given satisfaction, and were calculated to do good.

Dec. 19. Ther. 35°. *Painting*.—We visited the exhibition of pictures by modern artists in the Stuyvesant Gallery, and were gratified to see so many works indicating talent. The portraits of females were particularly good. In the choice of the subjects the artists had avoided horrors; there were no Judiths and Holoferneses; no Crucifixions; no Bacchanalian Heathen Deities. A pure taste should no more relish such representations on canvass than in nature; and the rage for them in Europe appears to me to arise from the principle of imitation acting in the absence of judgment. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the minds of men were essentially barbarous, and they were familiarised with much actual suffering. The torture reigned in every court of justice, and in the Inquisition; the laws were cruel and bloody; and deeds of revengeful

\* Before this time the reader probably has been surprised, and perhaps alarmed, at the frequency of the religious discussions which have occurred in this journal; and it may be proper to explain that owing to the number and equality of the sects in the United States, great interest is kept alive on the subject of religion. Not only has every sect a host of religious papers in its service, but in New York, newspapers of a miscellaneous character pay handsomely for reports of sermons. Besides, I visited them as the advocate of a new philosophy of mind, and it was natural for the adherents of the various religious sects to court discussions with me concerning its relations to their opinions. If I omitted these, I should imperfectly represent a striking feature of the American mind; and numerous as the notices of them may appear, they are few compared with the actual number. It gives me pleasure to add, that although the statements made by me were sometimes at variance with the opinions entertained by those who entered into the discussions, yet no unkind or discourteous spirit appeared; and if offence be taken on either side of the Atlantic at the reports of them, no such feeling, so far as I observed, accompanied the original conversations. To avoid giving offence to individuals, I have epitomised, as far as possible, the views stated by many.

murder were daily perpetrated by hired assassins. Many of their painters partook of the coarseness of the age, and lent the inspiration of their genius to realize on canvass, scenes of blood and agony corresponding in sentiment with those which were acted on the theatre of life. The genius of the painters consecrated not only the terrible, but the horrible; and acquired for their works a high reputation, which has descended to our days. Modern European artists, captivated by the real merits of these painters, but forgetting the advance of civilisation, have imitated their barbarisms, and not unfrequently omitted their genius. The American public having rarely seen, have escaped being misled by, the productions of the elder school of art; and their own feelings being humane, their artists have selected subjects in harmony with them. Objects related to the higher sentiments of our nature should be at least as fruitful in inspirations to genius as those which owe their existence only to abuses of our propensities; modern artists, besides, should rise to higher excellence when they invent under the impulse of the more generous emotions of their own age, than when they strain their imaginations to embody terrors that are now happily banished from the experience of ordinary life.

Dec. 20. Thermometer 33°. *Phrenology*.—This morning I gave to my class a practical lesson on the Temperaments. The attendance was large, and much interest was taken in the subject.

In the evening we attended a meeting of the Phrenological Society of New York in the Stuyvesant Institute, when Dr. J. W. Francis delivered an address. The attendance exceeded 400 ladies and gentlemen. The most interesting portion of the address was that in which Dr. Francis narrated the circumstances which led him to take an interest in phrenology. He was in Edinburgh when the subject first attracted general attention, and heard Dr. Barclay ridicule it in his own coarse but effective style in his lectures on anatomy. Then came the famous assault on it by Dr. John Gordon in the 49th number of the Edinburgh Review, which he carefully read. Afterwards he visited Paris, and heard Dr. Gall demonstrate the ignorance of the reviewer in regard not only to phrenology, but to the anatomy of the brain; and he saw that both Dr. Barclay and Dr. Gordon had condemned what they did not understand.

There never was a more unfortunate blunder for Edinburgh than that committed by those two medical teachers. The success of the University of Edinburgh is of very considerable importance to the prosperity of the city, for Mind is her staple, and almost her sole field of profitable exertion. During the last century the University had attained a high reputation by march-

ing foremost in the adoption of every important discovery and improvement, and by numbering among her teachers a succession of men of distinguished talent. She had been long celebrated as a school of mental science, and the eloquent discourses of Dugald Stewart still cast a halo of glory around her brows. While she was yet in this condition, the discovery of the functions of the brain, embodying the true philosophy of mind, and resting on the sure basis of induction, was presented to her. Had her leading minds examined and embraced it, and incorporated it with their teaching, she would instantly have started forward in both her medical and ethical schools at least half a century in advance of all her rivals. The stimulus to thought and improvement which such a step would have created, and the extensive discussions to which it would have led (and in which, being in the right, she would have triumphed), would have kept her name constantly before Europe, and have sent forth young and enthusiastic minds, conscious of the soundness of their attainments in the new philosophy, and of their own strength, to spread her fame in every land. She would have stood in the front rank of philosophy for a century to come.

How different has been her actual course! In 1803, Dr. Gall's discovery was first noticed in the *Edinburgh Review* by Dr. Thomas Brown. He was a man of a powerful mind, and capable of appreciating it, but at that time it was known to him only through meagre reports of Dr. Gall's lectures published by his pupils. He condemned it, but in comparatively moderate terms. By an unfortunate selection the next notice of it in the *Review* fell into the hands of Dr. John Gordon, a man of an acute and active mind, with a natural gift of ready utterance, but rash in judgment, and destitute equally of profundity and comprehensiveness. The unmeasured and unmerited abuse which he heaped not only upon phrenology, but on Dr. Gall, its founder, and on Dr. Spurzheim, its defender and extender, although palpably unphilosophical and ungenerous, and, in the eyes of those who knew the subject, altogether unsatisfactory to the understanding, coincided so perfectly with the opinions of the leading men of the day, that they adopted them, and committed themselves irretrievably as determined opponents of the physiology of the brain. In 1826, Lord Jeffrey made a third vigorous but unsuccessful attempt in the *Review* to sustain them in their false position, and up to this hour their hostility has increased in proportion to the progress of the new philosophy.

Dec. 21. Thermometer 33°. *Jersey City*.—New York stands on an island, but it was long before I could discover its pretensions to an insular situation by inspection either of nature or of

ordinary maps. It seemed a promontory merely; bounded by the East River on the east, and the Hudson on the west. About eight or ten miles north of New York, however, a channel of a few hundred yards in breadth, and of very moderate depth, admits of boats and barges passing from the one of these streams to the other, and completes Manhattan Island. In Long Island, opposite New York on the east, stands Brooklyn, a large suburb of the city, and connected with it by means of several steam ferry-boats, which ply night and day. On the shore of New Jersey, opposite New York on the west, stands Jersey City, another suburb fast rising into importance, and also connected with New York by means of steam-boats, which ply without intermission. The Hudson is here about a mile in breadth. Jersey City stands at the point of termination of the Morris Canal, and of the Philadelphia railroad, and is a pleasant place of residence. It was begun about fifteen years ago, and at that time a lot of building ground measuring twenty-five feet in front, and one hundred feet backwards, might have been bought for fifty, sixty, or seventy dollars, according to the situation. Lately one in a peculiarly valuable situation was sold for \$3000. The population is now 2500 inhabitants. A brick house of twenty-four feet in front, forty-four in depth, and three stories high, costs \$400 per annum for rent, or \$7000 of purchase-money, and \$8 per annum of ground-rent. These rates are greatly less than in New York; besides which Jersey City is free from the heavy local taxes of the older town. The rate of interest drawn from capital expended in building houses here is less than that yielded by solid stocks, or by money secured on bond and mortgage.

Dec. 21. *Social Condition of New York.*—In society I have taken various opportunities of making inquiries into the social condition of women, and the young, and into other topics; and the general results which I have arrived at may be thus stated. I hazarded the observation, that while America claimed the merit of treating women with an almost chivalrous respect, my experience, so far as it had yet extended, led me to doubt whether they held the same exalted rank in the social scale as in Britain. There they are part of the moving powers of society in certain departments. We solicit the patronage of ladies of distinction in favor of a musical performer or an artist, and they are able to move an extensive social circle in their behalf. They take the lead in many charitable and religious societies. In domestic life the lady of the house is regarded by the friends and visitors of the family as an equal power with the master of it. I was informed, in return, that in New York no lady would arrogate the importance implied in becoming ostensibly a patroness of a new musical debutante; but that ladies are active and efficient mana-

gers of benevolent and religious societies. The young, however, push their parents too soon off the stage. A handsome well-bred gentleman, whose circle of visiting in genteel society here was extensive, told me that he coincided a good deal with me in opinion, and that he did not consider that the married ladies in general held the same place, and exerted the same influence here, which they do in Europe. He had a pretty extensive acquaintance with young ladies of highly respectable families; yet he was not acquainted with the mothers of above twelve of them. The mothers were laid aside, and the young ladies often formed acquaintances, and acted in regard to them for themselves, without judging it necessary to take their mammas along with them.

I have often inquired who are the leading physicians in New York, and every one concurs in the opinion that there are none: that is to say, that no individuals stand so prominently forth from possessing superior talents, acquirements, and experience, as to be generally appealed to as consulting advisers in difficult cases. There are several who enjoy extensive practice and general consideration, (among whom Dr. Francis is one,) but they are not recognised by common consent of the citizens as wiser or better than many others.

*Public Opinion.—Influence of the Clergy.*—It is generally admitted that there is here a great fear of public opinion. Few men are to be found who, on any subject, will venture openly to espouse opinions that are not supported by a large and respectable party. The periodical press follows rather than leads opinion; but this is the case in every country. The clergy visit very little in general society; are seldom guests at ceremonious dinners; and are still more rarely invited to evening parties; nevertheless they exercise a powerful influence on opinion. They can favor or impede the practice of a young physician very considerably, by recommending him to the families of their flocks, or by warning them against him. Some medical men, for example, who have embraced Phrenology, decline to read addresses in favor of it before a public audience, through fear of the clergy. (a) The clergy are occasionally members of the Civic Council, and exercise great influence in its deliberations; and one gentleman who, to some extent, is under the control of the council, told me that he could not, while he held his office, safely advocate Phrenology openly, in consequence of their hostility.

Dec. 22. Ther. 44°. *Dissection of the Brain.*—A meeting of a number of medical and other gentlemen attending the lec-

(a) This timidity should be received as evidence of the weak-mindedness of such persons, rather than of the power or of the interference of the clergy.



tures was held this day, for the purpose of dissecting the brain. The method of dissection introduced by Dr. Gall, is not generally known in the United States. Dr. Spurzheim's plates were compared with the appearances in the dissected brain, and recognised to be faithful.

*Fires in New York.*—Every second night at least, the State House bell sounds the alarm of fire, and often two or three times in one night. At first the frequent tolling of the bell seemed dreadful, as indicating calamity and suffering; but custom has already so familiarised us with it, that we merely look to see in what direction the firemen are running, and if they go out of sight, we conclude that the conflagration is in a distant quarter of the city, and trouble ourselves no more about it.\*

Dec. 23. Thermometer 37°. *Ignorance of an English D.D. concerning the State of Religion in the United States.*—In calling a few days ago for Mr. J. C. Brigham, Secretary to the Bible Society in this city, I learned from him, in answer to my inquiries, that this is a very extensive and powerful association, and that it is supported with great zeal by the religious public. We spoke of the stability of religion in the United States, and he said that he entertained no apprehensions on the subject. It appears to me that the cause of the uneasiness which some persons in the United States feel about religion, may be traced to the state of transition in which society exists; it is passing from the scholastic to the scientific age, and religion has not yet seriously begun to adapt herself to the change. He gave me "Hear the Church," a sermon preached in the Chapel-Royal, St. James's Palace, on the 17th of June, 1838, by Walter Farquhar Hook, D. D., reprinted at Burlington, New Jersey; and called my attention to the want of knowledge of the state of the Church in America, which is betrayed by the following passage of the discourse: "When the United States of America were English Colonies, the English Church was there established; at the Revolution the state was destroyed. Monarchy has ceased to exist; but the Church, though depressed for a time, remained uninjured. So that there, among American Republicans—under the superintendence of no fewer than fifteen bishops, you will find her sacraments and ordinances administered, and all her ritual and liturgical services administered, with not less piety, zeal and solemnity than here in England;" (all this is true;) "there," continues Dr. Hook, "you may see

\* The following statement appeared in the newspapers in the beginning of 1839:—"The total number of fires which occurred in the city of New York from the 1st of January, 1838, to the 31st of December in the same year, was 154, causing a loss, by the destruction of the buildings, of \$333,671, and of property by fire and water, of \$359,942."

the Church, like an oasis in the desert, blessed by the dews of heaven, and shedding heavenly blessings around her, in a land where, because no religion is established, *if it were not for her*, nothing but the extremes of infidelity or fanaticism would prevail."

The Americans are justly astonished at the want of knowledge concerning their social and religious condition which, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, continues to prevail even among educated men in England. A very slender extent of research would have enabled Dr. Hook to discover that in New England, which always has been, and still is, distinguished for its religious spirit, Episcopacy has exercised but a very slender influence; that in Pennsylvania and New York, Presbyterianism, in all its purity and power, has far outshone the Church of England; and that throughout America in general, this sect exercises only a third or fourth rate influence over the public mind. Dr. Hook apparently includes all other sects except his own within the "two extremes of infidelity and fanaticism;" but this is an extravagant error. I have already seen evidence that zeal, piety, and knowledge, combined with sound practical sense, are to be found among the clergy of all denominations in this country, and that the wild fanatical preachers are far more rare than is generally believed in Britain.

Dec. 24. Thermometer 37°. *William Augustus Conway and Mrs. Piozzi.*—Mr. Conway was known in England as a tragedian. He came to this country in the exercise of his profession; but, after some time, relinquished the stage and studied for the ministry. He is reported to have induced cerebral disease by excessive application to his studies, and presented indications of abstractions and deep melancholy, which attracted general attention from those who knew him. In December, 1827, he was seen slowly and deliberately letting himself down the side of a packet-ship in which he was a passenger, on her voyage from New York to Savannah, into the sea, and it was evident that he made no effort to second the exertions of those on board to save him. His papers, with his other property, came into the hands of the public administrator of the effects of foreigners who die intestate in New York, and among them was found a large number of original letters written to him by Mrs. Piozzi, in 1819 and 1820. She died at Clifton on the 2d of May, 1821, and she was, therefore, at that time in her 79th and 80th years. Mr. Conway was then on the English stage, and the old lady seems to have taken as ardent and extensive an interest in him and his affairs, as if she had combined the qualities of his youthful lover and his mother. All her talent and vivacity beam forth in her epistles. She not only wrote to

him largely herself, but sent to him original letters written to her by several of her own distinguished correspondents; among these was a letter from Mrs. Siddons, dated 27 Upper Baker street, Regent's Park, the 18th of May, 1818; also letters from Dr. Samuel Johnson to her, dated Edinburgh (but should be Newcastle), August 12; Edinburgh, Aug. 17; Banff, Aug. 25; Inverness, Aug. 28; and Skye, Sept. 14—all in the year 1773. I have not the means at hand of ascertaining whether these letters of Dr. Johnson have been published by her; but it is probable that they have. Her letters to Mr. Conway have never been in print. They have excited so much curiosity that several of them had been copied, and it was from the copies that I obtained this information.

Dec. 24. Thermometer 12°. *Phrenology*.—This evening I completed my course of sixteen lectures at Clinton Hall. The attendance, and the resolutions passed by the class, are given in the Appendix, No. IV.

Dec. 25. Thermometer 20°. *Christmas*.—This is Christmas-day, and most of the shops are shut, and the churches open; but the observance is entirely voluntary.

*Salaries of Public Officers*.—The salaries of public officers in the United States are very small, compared with the large remuneration allowed to every other kind of labor. The Chancellor of the State of New York receives \$3000, and each Judge of the Supreme Court \$3000, and of the Circuit Court \$1600 per annum. It has been mentioned to me that one of the judges resigned, and procured an appointment as clerk to his own court. The fees made this the more lucrative office of the two.

*Life Assurance*.—There are only three Life Assurance offices in New York, and they do little business. They limit their risks on one life to \$5000 (about 1000*l.*) and this sum is not sufficient to provide for a family. One office has lately extended its risks to \$10,000. The causes here assigned for this limited business, are the same as those which were stated to me in Boston. The great value of capital leads most men to believe that they can realise a better provision for their families by trading on the premiums than by paying them to an office; the facility of providing for families lessens anxiety on their account, and the early period at which marriage in general takes place, affords to parents a great probability of living to see their children settled in the world. The premiums are considerably higher than in Europe, yet the companies have ample means of accumulating them at 6 and 7 per cent. on undoubted security, whereas British offices can scarcely realise more than 3½ per cent. When they become better acquainted with the business,

they will probably insure at lower rather than at higher rates than in Europe; and this will extend their business. If the premiums were moderate, and the sums insured larger, many policies would probably be opened to secure sums advanced to young men beginning business, and whose premature death constitutes the chief risk in lending money to them. If the British companies which are overloaded with capital, could invest it in this country, under *skilful and honest* guidance, their profits would be immense. Were they to employ faithless agents, however, the chances are great that in a brief space, they would have their hands filled with bubble stocks and phantom mortgages, and be swindled out of nine-tenths of their remittances.

Dec. 26. Ther. 20°. *Public Grounds for Air and Exercise.*—There is an increasing want of grounds for obtaining air and exercise in this city. The Battery, a space of two or three acres at the southwestern extremity of the town, on the margin of the bay, and the Park, a space of about the same extent, a mile from the Battery, and in the midst of trading streets, are the only *lungs* of New York. It is not yet too late to secure a drive up one side of Manhattan Island and down the other. A broad carriage road, with side walks, thickly shaded with trees, and preserved sacred from all thoroughfare business travelling, might yet be made, commencing at the termination of the present buildings, a little way beyond Tenth Street. In a few years the city will extend miles beyond this point; as its population becomes dense and confined (by rivers on each side) epidemics will scourge it severely, and bitter regrets will be felt, when it is too late, that means were not adopted in time to preserve the health of the poorer classes, by providing them space for fresh air and recreation. If the American press would present its readers with faithful descriptions of the evils which the English, Scotch and Irish large towns are suffering from neglect of this element of health, and call on them to take warning in time, they would discharge an important public duty. I fear such a proposal would be unpopular, on account of the expense; but if it should be so, posterity will deeply lament the spirit which caused it to be neglected.

## CHAPTER IX.

Journey to Philadelphia—Riots at Harrisburg—American Philosophical Society—Appearance of Philadelphia—American Debates—Wistar Club—Sunday—Right of Suffrage in Pennsylvania—Betting on Elections—Public Education—Dr. Morton's *Crania Americana*—New Year's Day—Sir Walter Scott and the Ballantynes—Yankee—Phrenology—Errors of the Press—Mr. Dunn's Chinese Museum—Mr. Thom, Sculptor—Napoleon's Army of England—The Clergy—Social Manners—Professor Gibson—Effects of Exercise on the Bones—The Episcopal Church in America—Sully's Portrait of Queen Victoria—Mr. Norris's Locomotive Engines—Mitigation of the Criminal Law—American Institutions—Spirit of the People—Phrenology—Cemetery at Laurel Hill—Prosperous Times—John Vaughan, Esq., and Benjamin Franklin—American Declaration of Independence—Money Exchange—The Streets—Phrenology—The Girard College—Portrait of General Washington—Lynch Law—Advertisements—Coal—Aristocracy.

DEC. 27. Ther. 23°. *Journey to Philadelphia.*—We sailed from New York at 12 o'clock noon, for Amboy, on the New Jersey shore. The usual channel by which the steamboats make this passage, lies between the western shore of Staten Island and New Jersey, but it is already encumbered with ice. We therefore took the outer channel, stretching farther into New York bay, and running along the eastern shore of the island. We passed quantities of floating ice, and the air was sharp, but pleasant. The sun shone brilliantly, and imparted an agreeable warmth, in any situation screened from the wind. We arrived at Amboy at half-past two; and entered a railway car, which carried us directly across the state of New Jersey, and placed us at half-past six P. M. on the left bank of the Delaware exactly opposite to Philadelphia. It was now clear moonlight, and very cold.

We found the river completely frozen over, and the sides encumbered with large masses of ice, which the rising tides had pitched up against the shore. This was the first day on which the navigation had been completely interrupted, and no arrangements had yet been made for transporting passengers to the city. We wandered, in the moonlight, backwards and forwards along the margin of the river, admiring the city reposing in solemn majesty on the opposite shore, and sending

forth gleams of light from its innumerable gas-lamps, till 8 o'clock, when we were summoned to follow a guide one mile higher up the stream. We walked in a long straggling train, a picturesque group of men, women and children, muffled up in every variety of cloak, mantle and costume, that could keep out the cold, which was now intense. On arriving at the point of embarkation, the ladies were put into a boat, and the sailors, with their usual cheering cries, shoved it along the now solid surface of their proper element. The ice at first was so rough, that the tossing was nearly equal to that of a stormy sea, and the alarm of the ladies was great; but as they left the shore, they reached the pure unbroken surface and glided smoothly along. The gentlemen were requested to walk; and they speedily reproduced the picturesque. The ice near the bank presented innumerable cracks at the points where it had been broken, and portions of it forced up on edge by the tides, and these projections were in many places so high, that it was impossible to step straight over them. Every passenger was left to thread his way through the labyrinth according to the dictates of his own sagacity. The few to whom the scene was familiar, soon shot far ahead, and were nearly out of sight; the boldest of the inexperienced followed next, the cautious were seen groping their way, and trying each crack and hole with their sticks or umbrellas, before they ventured too near it; while the positively timid stood paralysed with fear, until encouraged to proceed, and assured of safety, by some bolder friend, who ever and anon on missing them turned back to fetch them on their way. In the middle of the stream, the ice was so pure and perfect that many of us sustained falls, which forcibly reminded us of our boyish days, when every bone was elastic, and when skating with all its perils to the limbs, gave health and strength and joy amidst the winter's cold. We landed safely, but being unexpected, there was no provision for transporting us and our luggage to town, and by this time it was near 9 P. M. Several carts and furniture wagons, however, were soon mustered, and we arrived safely at the Marshall House Hotel before ten.

The first glimpse which we obtained of Philadelphia was agreeable. We entered by Front Street and then turned into Chestnut Street. All was regular, clean, and bright. We passed the front of the United States' Bank, an imitation of the Parthenon, in white marble, and beautifully lighted up by gas-lamps so dispersed behind the tops of the pillars that only the light and the building were visible.

We obtained an excellent parlor and bed-room in a house which had been added to the hotel, and connected with it by a passage: It fronts Seventh Street, from which it has a private

door, the Marshall House itself opening into Chestnut Street. The apartments had not been occupied for some weeks; the house was of brick, the walls were not more than thirteen or fourteen inches thick, and three sides were exposed to the whole influence of the atmosphere. The feeling of cold in the rooms was intense. We soon had a huge fire of anthracite coal blazing in each apartment, but the effect was to roast our faces, while our backs felt as if exposed to the open air. The walls were so cold that they absorbed the heat as fast as it was radiated, and whatever part of us was exposed to a wall was drained of its caloric with painful rapidity. It took three days and three nights constant burning of two large fires, before the walls were saturated with heat, after which we found moderate fires sufficient, and we experienced no further inconvenience from the low temperature. This house being detached from the hotel, had no stove in the hall or passage, and this was one cause of the extraordinary cold which we experienced for the first three days.

Dec. 28. Ther. 13°. *Riots at Harrisburg.*—Harrisburg, a village on the Susquehannah, about one hundred and five miles from Philadelphia, is the political capital of Pennsylvania, in which the state legislature holds its sessions. The legislature met in the beginning of December, but owing to a dispute relative to certain returns, two speakers were chosen, and two houses of representatives were organised. This was done peaceably. When, however, the session of the senate commenced, on the afternoon of the same day, a mob was in attendance which attempted to influence and dictate the course to be pursued by that body. The senate adjourned in confusion, and the mob organised “a committee of safety,” which directed their proceedings. Disorder reigned for several days, during which neither branch of the legislature could hold a regular session; “the Executive Chamber and State Department,” says Governor Ritner, “were closed, and confusion and alarm pervaded the seat of government.” The militia were called out; and obeyed the summons: Their presence, without shedding of blood, frowned down every thing like open violence,” and under their protection “the members of the legislature were free to settle their own differences in their own manner.”

The excitement in Harrisburg was very great, and all over the Union the proceedings attracted much attention. A stranger to the people and their institutions, from perusing the newspaper reports, would have imagined that a new revolution and a civil war had commenced in Pennsylvania; but when one is able to observe matters more closely, these impressions vanish. So far as I could understand, the merits of the dispute were these: A very important amendment of the constitution of the state has

lately been adopted by the people, which comes into effect on the 1st of January 1839. The recent elections have, it is understood, given a preponderance to the democratic party in all the three branches of the legislature; and when the democratic governor Porter comes into office in January, there will be a great dismissal of whig office-bearers, and an installation of their opponents. The parties, however, are so nearly balanced, that the struggle for power is one of life and death, and every means that legal and political ingenuity can devise, are resorted to by the whig party to retain office, and by the democratic party to expel them from it.

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| The House of Representatives consists of 100 members.      | Of    |
| these there are undisputed returns of democratic members,  | 48    |
| Whig members,  | 44    |
| While there are eight seats for the county of Philadelphia |       |
| disputed and claimed by both parties,                      | 8     |
|  | <hr/> |
|  | 100   |

The county (exclusive of the city) is divided into seventeen districts [wards], and one person is named by each district, in all seventeen individuals, whose duty is to scrutinise the votes: The seventeen judges met, scrutinised the votes, received evidence, heard counsel on both sides, differed in opinion, and, by a majority of ten votes to seven, rejected the votes of the northern liberties, and preferred the eight democratic candidates. They returned these members as duly elected, to the secretary of state. The legal form of making the return is, in their view, that which they adopted; namely, they granted a certificate that the person named had "the highest number of votes polled" for their respective offices, and that they, the judges, (technically named "canvassers,") do therefore declare them to be duly elected." The minority, however, were of opinion, that, according to law, the majority of the seventeen judges had exceeded their constitutional powers in declaring who were elected. According to their interpretation of the law, the seventeen are merely ministerial officers, whose duty is only clerical, and "consists in adding up and declaring the whole vote polled for each candidate within their district, and making return thereof to the proper officer. The law gives them no power to reject or exclude the vote of a district or part of a district." The whig minority, therefore, granted a certificate to seven of the whig candidates, in conformity to their own views of the law, and instantly despatched it by the sheriff, to the secretary of state, who also was a whig, [anti-mason.] It reached him before the democratic return arrived; and when the latter came he refused to receive it,



alleging that he had already received a return, which it was his business to present to the house, leaving them to deal with it as they saw proper.

By law, the individuals certified by the returning officers take their seats and vote as members until dispossessed by a vote of the house on a petition of their opponents. If these seven whigs, therefore, could have entered the House of Representatives, and voted, they would have given their own party at least a temporary majority, and during their ascendancy they would have elected a whig speaker and clerk, and probably a state treasurer and auditor, besides a senator from the state of Pennsylvania to the Congress of the United States.

The democratic party, considering themselves to be in possession of the *bona fide* majority of votes, and to have made a legal return, would not submit to be out-voted by what they designated as a whig fraud; while the whigs, regarding themselves as properly returned, insisted for their seats until their opponents should obtain the decision of the house rejecting their pretensions.

The magnitude of the disorders which ensued is easily accounted for. The two parties are nearly balanced, and their hopes and fears were deeply excited. The people themselves are in effect the ruling power, and when roused, they have no fear of legal responsibility, but give effect to their wishes and convictions, in the mode which appears best suited to the exigency of the moment. They will appeal to the laws when the evil of which they complain will not become irremediable by delay; but in the present instance, if the democrats had allowed the whig members to take their seats, the mischief would, *ipso facto*, have been perpetrated, and they, therefore, resorted to a riot to prevent it. In any European country, a tumultuous assault on the legislature, if successful, would probably have been the forerunner of a revolution; but here it is of far inferior importance. In the United States a revolution can scarcely mean any thing but an abandonment of freedom. The suffrage is already all but universal, and the people elect, either directly or indirectly, not only the legislature but every officer of state. The wildest imagination, therefore, cannot devise a more democratic form of government; and as there is no aristocratic class, having separate interests and distinct feelings from the people, who could usurp power, a revolution could lead only to a despotism. The states, however, are very far removed from that condition in which a despotism becomes possible. There are no poverty-stricken, suffering, and ignorant multitudes, whom an aspiring tyrant can beguile to lend him their physical force to overthrow the liberties of their country. A large pro-

portion of the electors are owners of their own farms, while even the humblest class possesses property and some degree of intelligence. All are reared in the love, not only of freedom, but of power. There are no social disorders worth mentioning; certainly none at all calculated to induce the rich to surrender liberty for the sake of safety to their property and lives. Generally speaking, justice between man and man is fairly dispensed and vigorously executed. It is only when the government acts against the people, or when the people are seized with a frenzy and perpetrate mischief by mobs, that the judiciary and executive powers are felt to want strength. These occurrences are rare, and arise from some single specific and temporary cause. There is no general, lurking discontent secretly gathering strength till it become ready to break down the fences of the law, and to seek redress through anarchy and blood. Every grievance as it is felt, is proclaimed by a thousand trumpet tongues in the most exaggerated forms, and as the people control absolutely both the legislature and the executive, it cannot protract its existence till it become really formidable. The governments of the particular states, when regarded from a distance, may appear to be so feeble, that society is constantly in danger of anarchy, but when the condition of the people is closely examined, it is discovered that the causes and elements of anarchy are wanting. These governments resting on the popular interests, popular intelligence, and popular will, really possess so broad a basis, that it is impossible, in the present circumstances of the nation, to upset them, and as the power of reconstruction is constantly present, although they should be dislocated in any of their parts, they reunite with a rapidity, and act again with a vitality, that furnish the strongest indications of health and vigor.

A democracy is a rough instrument of rule, in the present state of education and manners in the United States, and I have not yet met with a British radical who has had the benefit of five years' experience of it, who has not renounced his creed, and ceased to admire universal suffrage. But the coarseness of the machine, and its efficacy, are different questions. It is coarse, because the mass of the people, although intelligent, compared with the European masses, are still very imperfectly instructed, when their attainments in knowledge and refinement are contrasted with powers which they wield. It is efficacious, however, because it is sound in its structure and its mainsprings are strong.

I read without alarm the accounts of the Harrisburg riots, of the calling for the troops of the United States to aid in suppressing the "rebellion," as some of the newspapers named it, and of the march of one thousand armed militia to the seat of

the disturbances. I knew that the rioters had farms or stores, wives, children, and other relatives, and that they had a profound regard for their own lives and personal safety; and I "calculated" that, however loudly they might bluster and threaten, there would be no bloodshed and no destruction of property. And it was so: the riots are now all extinct, the legislature pursues its deliberations in peace, and already men wonder what all the uproar has been about.

*The American Philosophical Society.*—I dined by invitation with the American Philosophical Society, and found myself at the left hand of one of the chairmen (Professor Chapman), who is also one of the vice-presidents of the society, opposite to the Count de Survilliers (Joseph Bonaparte), who sat on his right. I was introduced to the members before dinner, and to the count, who gave me, in the English and American style, a hearty shake of the hand. When I first saw him enter the room before dinner, he appeared like a short, muscular, amiable, country gentleman; and not having heard that he was expected, my surprise was great when I was introduced to the ex-king of Spain. He has resided for many years in the city or neighborhood of Philadelphia, where he exercises an elegant hospitality, and is greatly respected. He speaks English imperfectly. His head is large, the anterior lobe of an average size, the coronal region (the seat of the moral sentiments) is large, and Cautiousness is much developed. His temperament is sanguine-lymphatic. His manner is simple, kind, and amiable. On examination, the features, particularly the nose, mouth, and chin, are perceived evidently to belong to the family of Napoleon; and when he smiled, and also when he spoke earnestly and gravely, the expression of the mouth was exceedingly like that which appears in the best pictures of the emperor. His health was given, and the concluding words of the prefatory address were, "the toast is Joseph Bonaparte—once a king, still a sovereign, and always a philosopher." He is an American citizen, and every citizen is a sovereign—being one of a sovereign people. Mention was made of his literary and philosophical tastes, of his refined hospitality, and of the esteem which he had acquired from all who knew his virtues. He replied in a short, elegant, and appropriate speech in French, the import of which was, that he had seen many countries, and their inhabitants; but had never known any so happy, so prosperous, and so worthy of his esteem, as the people of the United States. He had known them for twenty-five years, and if they proceeded in future as they had done in that period, they would become the greatest and the happiest nation on the globe.

The American Philosophical Society was founded by Frank-

lin, and he was long its president. His memory was the first toast given after dinner. The chair in which he sat is preserved and venerated; and here, as in Boston, his character and writings continue to exercise a living influence. In both cities, his busts and portraits abound. In most of the eastern American towns, there are societies, streets, squares, hotels, oyster-taverns, omnibuses, and fire-engines, bearing his name.

One of the vice-presidents, Dr. Patterson, did me the honor to propose my health. In acknowledging the compliment, I took occasion to remark, that in my own country I had advocated the cause of the people, and was glad to find myself in a land where that cause is triumphant: that the eyes of the civilised world are directed towards the United States of America, to watch the progress and mark the results of the great social experiment which is here proceeding, that a steady advance in morality, intelligence, religion, and prosperity in these states, will accomplish more for the cause of freedom in Europe, than all beside that has been done, spoken, and written in its favor; but that if they shall make shipwreck of law, social order, and happiness, they will do more to blast the brightest prospects of mankind, than the worst tyrants who have disgraced the page of history: the tyrant makes the good to sigh; the failure of the American republic will plunge them in despair. These sentiments were well received. The hours passed off in the most agreeable manner; social hilarity mingled with intellectual power, gave zest to the whole proceedings of the evening.

Dec. 30. Ther. 30°. *Appearance of Philadelphia.*—This morning presents snow with a tendency to thaw. Innumerable sleighs, with their many bells, are passing every where in the streets. The local situation and also the plan of this city, was fixed by William Penn; and they do great credit to his taste and judgment. It lies in a plain of two miles in breadth, extending between the rivers Schuylkill on the west, and Delaware on the east, and rising from 20 to 40 feet above the high-water levels of them. Both rivers are navigable from the sea to the town, the former for schooners and barges, and the latter for ships; and both are navigable for boats and barges for many miles landward. The streets are laid at right angles, east and west, and north and south: those running north and south are nearly parallel with the rivers; the others extend from river to river. The latter streets bear the names of the trees found growing on the soil before the town was founded—Vine street, Cherry street, Mulberry street, (familiarily called *Arch* street, but for what reason I could never discover), Chestnut street, Walnut street, Locust street, Spruce street, and so forth. The streets which cross them, take numbers for their names, commencing with that next

the Delaware. It is called Front street, and the next are Second street, and so forth, till Thirteenth street, when the numbers change and count from the Schuylkill, First, Second, Third, and so forth. Nothing can exceed the convenience and elegance of this plan. The humblest capacity suffices to enable a stranger to find his way in Philadelphia.

The houses are regular and handsome. In the principal streets, they are "fixed," as it is here called, that is, finished off, with marble. In some streets, the houses are built of marble as high as the drawing-room floors; in others, only the steps and the setting of the doors and windows are of marble. There is an abundant supply of excellent water from the Schuylkill, distributed all over the city in pipes, and the streets have drains under ground, and are kept beautifully clean. The swine, however, here, as well as in New York, are free citizens; but they are more restrained to the inferior streets. This day the foot-pavement, composed of brick compactly joined, was instantly cleared of snow, and order, comfort, and cleanliness cheered the pedestrian as he threaded his way amidst the throng.

*American Debates.*—A friend inquired my opinion of the Harrisburg riots, and said that in Philadelphia they created no uneasiness, as every one knew that they would pass off in words, and lead to an improved election law, which would prevent their recurrence. He remarked, that an English traveller had taunted the Americans with the trifling nature of the debates in their congress compared with the subjects discussed in the British parliament; but that he had omitted, in his published work, to state the cause of the difference. Here many important social principles are irrevocably settled, which are still under debate in Britain. No ingenuity could call forth a debate in congress on the questions of a voluntary or established church; on tithes; on entails; on free trade; on corn laws; on the merits of hereditary legislators; on an extension of the right of suffrage; on the ballot; or on national education; because all these, which agitate the British Empire to the centre, are here settled beyond the possibility of dispute, and experience has confirmed the wisdom of the manner in which they have been decided.

In the course of many conversations which, at various times, I have enjoyed with men of superior talents and education in America, who have visited Britain, I have found that their estimate of the intellectual condition of the middle and upper classes in the old country, is very different from our own. The Americans allow us the superiority in science, erudition, and the fine arts, but they are astonished at our timid, circumscribed, and prejudiced thinking on many social and political questions, par-

ticularly such as those before enumerated. A well educated American gentleman, particularly if engaged in the practice of the law and general politics, is as familiar with the principles on which these have been decided in America, as with his alphabet; and far from admiring the wordy declamations and hollow plausibilities which are uttered on them in the British Houses of Parliament, he is amazed at the slow proceedings of knowledge, and the narrow understandings of those who waste years in such discussions. In the Congress of the United States, points of administration necessarily form important topics of debate, because few questions involving general principles remain undetermined.

*Wistar Club.*—I was introduced this evening, by a friend, to the Wistar Club. It consists of men of every grade and occupation in Philadelphia, who are at all distinguished for love of intellectual pursuits. There is no professed business, and no formality at the meetings, which are held in succession at the houses of the members, on every Saturday evening, during the winter months. The company begins to assemble at 8 o'clock, they are received in the drawing-room, form themselves into groups, and converse till half-past nine. They are then ushered into the dining-room, where an elegant supper and wine are enjoyed, standing; by half-past ten or eleven all have retired. This club is of great value in a society in which social visiting is not much practised, and all are busy. It is a rendezvous for congenial minds every week, and as rivals here meet, exchange courtesies, and enjoy a social meal, it promotes a kind and liberal spirit among individuals, who, if isolated, would be exposed to moroseness and jealousy. I owe the members of this club a large debt of gratitude for many pleasant and instructive hours spent among them.

Dec. 30. Ther. 14°. *Sunday.*—I heard Dr. Bethune of the Reformed Church preach a discourse to a numerous and attentive congregation. He is highly evangelical, and is much esteemed for his general talents. Sunday is observed with the greatest strictness and decorum in this city.

A clear bright full moon shines deliciously on the snow. The city is quiet, and we find ourselves exceedingly comfortable at the Marshall House.

*Right of Suffrage in Pennsylvania.*—An amendment of the constitution has lately been adopted by the people in Pennsylvania; and by it the right of suffrage is made to depend on a residence of *one* instead of *two* years within the state; on ten days' actual residence within the district in which the elector offers to vote (which was not required formerly), and on the assessment and payment of a state or county tax. Both assess-

ment and payment are required; but it is left to the legislature to determine by what evidence these requisites and that of residence shall be proved. Persons of color resident in the state, although free, and assessed, and paying taxes, are denied the privilege of voting. Before the amendment there was no specific words excluding them, but few ventured to claim the privilege, so inveterate is the prejudice against them.

Governor Ritner, in his message, strongly urges the necessity of passing laws for the regulation of elections, to prevent the frauds which have hitherto prevailed. He says that another reason now demands more strict and specific legislation on this subject: "The number of officers to be directly chosen by the people will give to the elections more of interest, and to each individual vote more of present and local value than they formerly possessed, and will consequently subject the power of the individual voter, which has now, in a great measure, become the direct appointing power, to greater danger from fraud and mal-practice than heretofore, when its influence was more remote.

*Betting on Elections.*—He adds: "I would strongly recommend the passage of a more effectual law against betting on elections, which practice forms the very worst and most pernicious species of gambling. Betting and gaming of other kinds only injure the parties themselves, but this inflicts a wound on the rights of all, and destroys that confidence which every citizen should feel in the decisions of the ballot-box." Not only so, but it destroys the confidence of good men in human nature itself. When the mass of the people entrusted with sovereign power can permit any of their own members to convert the sacred trust of voting for governors, magistrates, and legislators into a game of hazard, they show themselves to be unworthy of freedom. The existence of such a practice to an extent which calls for legislative interference to suppress it, presents a humiliating picture of the ascendancy of the spirit of avarice and speculation over morality and reason, in a portion at least of the people of this state. The foulest libeller could invent no calumny so deeply affecting the moral character, and tending so directly to shake the reliance of strangers on the institutions of Pennsylvania, as this acknowledged baseness. A people is preparing for a despotism, when it turns the elective franchise of its highest offices into a mere subject of pecuniary speculation. But the public sentiment did revolt in virtuous indignation at this disgraceful practice, and, as I shall have occasion subsequently to remark, suppressed it under severe penalties.

*Public Education.*—Within three years the permanent state

appropriation to this object has been increased from \$75,000 annually to one dollar for each taxable person, which is estimated to be equal to \$350,000 for the next school year. This sum is appropriated to common schools, and \$50,000 more will be required to pay annuities to colleges, academies, and female seminaries. Three years ago there were 32,544 children in the common schools of the state. There are now about 230,000. The schools were then kept open not quite three and a half months, while they are now open about seven months in the year.

At the close of the year 1835, only 762 common schools were in operation, and about seventeen academies (the latter in a state of almost doubtful existence), with no female seminaries fostered by the state. She has now 5000 common schools, thirty-eight academies, and seven female seminaries in active and permanent operation. These are altogether exclusive of private schools, academies, and female seminaries, many of which are ably conducted and extensively useful.

“Of the 1027 townships, wards, and boroughs now in the state, each intended to form a common school district; 875 have accepted the common school system, and have it in operation; and 786 have received their portion of the state appropriation for the present school year, commencing on the first Monday in June last. The number of accepting districts goes on steadily increasing, and the usefulness and economy of the system, where fairly tested, are becoming every day more apparent. All that now seems necessary to the success of the system is, that some immediate and efficient means be adopted for the preparation of common school teachers.”—*Governor's Speech.*

Pennsylvania is charged with more than a common degree of ignorance, and the sums and numbers now mentioned, while they prove the fact that the education of the existing generation has been grossly neglected, show that she has become ashamed of this stigma on her reputation, and has taken vigorous measures to remove it. She has already lost much by her neglect: Her existing generation is unquestionably in arrear of that of all the older states in general intelligence, and her legislation and public conduct afford evidence of the bitter fruits of the darkness of the public mind.

The business of the secretary to the commonwealth, as superintendant of common schools, has so much increased within the past three years, as seriously to embarrass that officer. The governor recommends the establishment of a department of education.

Dec. 31. Ther. 22°.—*Dr. Morton's Crania Americana.*—This day I visited Dr. Morton's collection of American Indian



skulls, which is valuable and extensive, and his specimens are well authenticated. I had the pleasure of showing him and Mr. Phillips, who assists him ardently in the measurements necessary for his beautiful and extensive work on these skulls, the method pursued by the phrenologists in estimating the dimensions of the coronal region and anterior lobe of the skull.

1839. Jan. 1. Ther. 20°. I again met Dr. Morton and Mr. Phillips, and discussed the method of measuring the skull. I greatly admired Dr. Morton's method of drawing the skull on a reduced scale. His lithographic drawings of the skulls are excellent, and of the full size of nature. He has engaged the services of a talented artist, whom he keeps constantly employed on his plates, which are drawn under his own eye, and each carefully compared with the original, before it is committed to stone. I narrowly scrutinised a number of them, holding the original skulls in my hand, and trying them and the plates by means of callipers, and found them faultless.

*New-Year's Day.*—This is a beautiful bright new-year's-day, and the militia and fire-engine companies are marching in procession through the city with banners flying and martial music sounding. The fire companies are all voluntary associations of citizens, who serve without pay, and vie with each other in keeping their engines and pipes in the most efficient and brilliant condition, and in being the first on the ground wherever there is a fire. Yesterday was the centenary of their institution, and they held a grand jubilee, and listened to an oration delivered in a church in celebration of their services. It was to me a new spectacle to see a train of engines fully a mile in length, with all the apparatus necessary for extinguishing fires, maintained in the highest order, by unpaid citizens; and to learn that the companies have existed for so long a period. They are as expert as they are imposing in their appearance, and the office is by no means a sinecure, for they are called out by alarms of fire at least two or three times every week.

Jan. 2. Ther. 32°. *Sir Walter Scott and the Ballantynes.*—We met several literary gentlemen to-day at dinner, and Mr. Lockhart's attack on the Ballantynes, and the reply of James Ballantyne's executors, was a topic of interesting conversation. One gentleman remarked, that he had read Sir Walter Scott's *Life* very attentively, and had come to the conclusion that Scott had obtained the full proceeds of the sales of his works from both Constable and Ballantyne; he added, that the facts stated by Mr. Lockhart himself in his *Life*, appeared to him to be at variance with the idea that the Ballantynes were the cause of Scott's ruin. Professor Duglison, in allusion to Dr. Beau-

mont's experiments on Alexis St. Martin's digestive powers,\* mentioned, that he had suggested and also performed the experiments at Washington, which are recorded in Dr. Beaumont's work. Dr. Dunglison has just written "An Appeal to the People of Pennsylvania on the subject of an Asylum for the Insane poor." There is no state hospital for these unfortunates in the whole of Pennsylvania—another reproach to so large and wealthy a community, and one also closely connected with her neglect of education. Connecticut and Massachusetts have set noble examples in this department of public benevolence, which New York is rapidly imitating.

*Yankee.*—The British err in calling all the Americans Yankees. The appellation properly belongs only to the inhabitants of the New England States; and they are proud of it. Here, however, and farther south, it begins to be used as a term of depreciation, and means a keen, active, artful, unscrupulous, and somewhat self-complacent person, who pursues his own interest regardless of all other considerations. It is said to be an Indian corruption of the word English—Yang-gleese—Yankees.

Jan. 4. Ther. 40°. *Phrenology.*—Mr. Nicholas Biddle, President of the United States' Bank, called, and informed me that he had attended a course of lectures given by Dr. Gall at Carlsruhe in Germany, in 1806 or 1807. He, subsequently, presented to me a skull which Dr. Spurzheim had marked for him, showing the situations of the organs as then discovered, and which had remained in his possession ever since. This relic possesses historical value. It has often been asserted that Dr. Gall *invented* his physiology of the brain, and did not discover it. When I was in Germany in 1837, I saw a collection of books describing the science at different stages of its progress, and also skulls marked at different times; all proving that the organs were discovered in succession as narrated by Drs. Gall and Spurzheim. This skull, which records the state of the science in 1806 or 1807, presents blank spaces where the organs of Hope, Conscientiousness, Individuality, Concentrativeness, Time, Size, and Weight, are now marked, these having at that time been unascertained. Farther, the local situations, and also the functions of the organs then marked by Dr. Gall as ascertained, continue unchanged in the marked skulls of the present day.

Jan. 4. Ther. 40°. *Phrenology.*—Dr. John Bell, who in 1822 edited an American edition of my first work on Phrenology,

\* See Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and the Physiology of Digestion, by William Beaumont, M. D., Surgeon in the U. S. Army. Reprinted, with Notes, by Andrew Combe, M. D. Edinburgh, 1838.

and a few other gentlemen, kindly undertook the duty of forming a class, and making arrangements for my lectures in this city. I delivered my first lecture this evening to an audience of 438 persons, of both sexes, in the lecture-room of the new museum; and they sustained the address of two hours' duration (the usual interval of five minutes being allowed) with the most gratifying patience and attention.

Jan. 5. Ther. 44°. *Errors of the Press.*—Many complaints are made against the morality of the American press, but I have hitherto had experience only of its blunders. Labor is here so valuable, that every man does too much, and in consequence work is executed often in a slovenly manner. At New York, the huge placards of my lectures posted in the town bore that I proposed to lecture on “Phrenology applied to *Elocution*” instead of Education; a most unfortunate blunder for me, as my elocution is sadly defective, and deeply tinged with a Scotch accent. Dr. Gall's works were advertised as *Galt's* works for weeks after I had sent notice of the error. The reports of my lectures in the Daily Whig of New York were often blundered in the names, grammar, and spelling to the very extremity of error, not from bad reporting, but in consequence of carelessness in correcting the press. I sent a statement of the size and relative proportions of the Phrenological organs in the head of Sir Walter Scott, taken from an authentic bust, to the New York Mirror, and received a proof, which was so blundered as to be utterly unintelligible even to myself. I applied at least six times to the editor to return the MS., that I might correct the proof, but the MS. was lost, and I had no alternative but to request the article to be destroyed, which was done.\* In this city (Philadelphia), which is famed for the superiority of its press, the printer omitted the *hour* in the placards announcing my first lecture!

*Mr. Dunn's Chinese Museum.*—One of the most interesting sights in Philadelphia, and one which, so far as I know, is unique, both in Europe and America, is Mr. Dunn's collection of Chinese objects exhibited in the lower hall of the Philadelphia Museum. Mr. Dunn resided for many years at Canton, and has collected specimens of every kind of object and article illustrative of Chinese life; and here they are arranged, labelled, and beautifully displayed. There is, for example, a Chinese silk store, as it is here called, (or shop in England.) There are shelves filled with labelled packages; the shop-keeper, as large as life, and in the usual Chinese dress, is showing a piece of black silk on the counter to a customer also in full costume, who is examining it

\* At a subsequent period the article was copied into the Mirror from the Phrenological Journal.

minutely. Behind the counter is a clerk making entries in a book, and before the counter are two men reposing on chairs and smoking. In another part of the hall there are a travelling tinker and his work tools, and a travelling shoemaker at work; there are Mandarins of various grades in their full costumes, with their secretaries behind them; ladies of rank in full dress; every variety of china, earthen-ware, and japanned utensil used in ordinary life, including a beautiful and elegant collection of lamps; there are also models of Chinese houses, pagodas, bridges, and of ships of every dimension; pictures representing the country, their military evolutions, and their courts of justice, into which the offenders are brought in wooden cages. The birds, fishes, shells, minerals, and smaller quadrupeds peculiar to the country are also exhibited in excellent preservation. In short, a survey of this museum approaches closely to a visit to China. It has been open only for one week, and it is said that 8000 persons have visited it within that time.

*Mr. Thom, Sculptor.*—While we were examining these objects, Mr. Thom, well known in Scotland as the self-taught artist, who produced the group of Burns' Jolly Beggars in free-stone, and other works, introduced himself to me. He has been in the United States for three years. He was successful in his exhibition of these figures; but his group of Old Mortality was quite a failure. He then made a figure in red sandstone of General Washington, eight feet high, and was equally unsuccessful in exhibiting it. We went with him to the Masonic Hall, and saw this figure. I cannot conceive any purpose to which it can be applied except being placed on the top of a monument, where it may be looked at from a distance; for it is not a pleasing object when closely examined. He has sold his group of Old Mortality to Mr. Dunn, (of the Chinese Collection), to be placed in Laurel Hill, a cemetery about three miles from Philadelphia, in a beautiful spot on the banks of the Schuylkill, which has lately been opened, in imitation of Mount Auburn, near Boston. He is now employed in executing the ornamental work of the Girard College.

*Napoleon's Army of England.*—A gentleman of Philadelphia who is intimately acquainted with Joseph Bonaparte, mentioned to me in conversation, that this personage had told him, that when Napoleon was at Boulogne, with the army collected to invade England, Robert Fulton, the inventor of the steam-boat, had offered to build for him steam-boats to transport his men; but that Napoleon had treated him as a charlatan! How different might the history of Europe have been, if Napoleon had listened to this proposal!

January 6. Ther. 39°.—*The Clergy.*—We heard the Rev.

Mr. Barnes preach in a large, handsome church in Washington Square. His congregation filled every pew. He is a man of great talents, and very much respected. His discourse appeared to me to be highly evangelical, but I afterwards learned, that he had been prosecuted on a charge of heresy, before the Presbytery and Synod of Philadelphia, and had been held guilty of Pelagianism, or of maintaining that the sin of our first parents was imputed to them only, and not to their posterity; and that we derive no corruption from their fall, but are born as pure as Adam when he came out of the hands of the Creator; and some other doctrines which flow from these premises. He appealed to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which, in May, 1835, acquitted him of the charge. The resolutions, however, which the Assembly passed in regard to Mr. Barnes, excited great alarm in many of its members for the purity of the church, and in 1837, the Assembly, by a majority of 148 to 110, excommunicated from the Presbyterian Church, four synods, containing twenty-eight presbyteries, or 509 ministers, 599 churches, and about 60,000 communicants. A litigation respecting the funds and property belonging to the General Assembly, is now in dependence before the Supreme Courts, between the old and the new schools, as the two parties are familiarly named. The new school is charged with holding views which the old school considers as heretical.

The clergy here lead a most laborious life. In addition to three services which are required from most of them, they meet the young and instruct them in the principles of their faith before the morning service, or between it and the afternoon service, on the Sundays, and also occasionally on week-days, and they preach on one additional evening in the week. I was advised to alter the night of one of my lectures from Wednesday to Thursday on account of the great number of religious congregations which meet on the Wednesday evenings; only two meet on Thursdays.

*Social Manners.*—I have been informed that in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, fewer persons entertain company at dinner, and that there is less social intercourse in private houses in the evenings, than in the same ranks in Britain. Several causes combine to produce these differences. In the American cities, trained and skilful servants, capable of getting up a handsome entertainment without excessive labor and anxiety to the lady of the house, are not numerous: Again, the gentlemen are so deeply immersed in their private affairs, and the ladies so occupied with the cares of their families and housekeeping, that when evening comes they have little energy and vivacity left for social entertainment. From the same cause they have fewer

general interests, ideas, and accomplishments which can be brought forward to create interest or confer pleasure on persons similarly circumstanced with themselves. Another obstacle has been mentioned to me of which I have no means of judging; namely, that the spirit of ostentation leads some families to live in large houses expensively furnished, whose circumstances do not admit of their entertaining company in a style corresponding with this display, and who therefore rarely entertain at all. But there is much mental vivacity in the people; they are not idle, but resort largely to churches, theatres, and lecture-rooms. It would be a great error, however, to infer from what has now been stated, that in these cities nobody gives dinners, or evening entertainments. We have enjoyed much hospitality of the most refined and elegant description, and I speak only of the comparative frequency of such social parties among the people themselves, in the indulgence of their own tastes, in the American and British cities.

Jan. 8. Ther. 45°. *Professor Gibson.*—To-day I accompanied Dr. Gibson, Professor of Surgery, to the Anatomical Museum of the Pennsylvania University. He is a distinguished and successful teacher. He both draws and models in wax with great success, and by these means renders even minute parts of the human structure distinctly visible to his class. Colossal models of the eye, ear, brain, nerves, and other parts are used here for demonstration by other anatomical teachers also, and the advantages of the practice are self-evident. Professor Gibson was educated in Edinburgh, acted for two seasons as assistant to Dr. Monro, and was intimate with the late Mr. Andrew Fyfe: he wrote a thesis on the differences in the structure of the bones in the different varieties of the human species (“*De Forma Ossium Gentilitia.*”)

*Effects of Exercise on the Bones.*—In the collection of Dr. Horner, Professor of Anatomy (in the University), I saw the skeleton of a lame beggar whose thigh-bones were bent up parallel with the abdomen, and whose arms and hands had been used for locomotion, his hands touching the ground. The bones of the shoulder and fore-arm were thicker than those of the thigh and leg, and the bones of the hands larger than those of the feet, the consequence probably of want of exercise in the former and of superabundance of it in the latter.

*The Episcopalian Church in America.*—In conversing with a distinguished divine of this persuasion, he told me that his clergy did not feel the want of legal endowments in this country; but that they looked up to the Church of England as the great mother of their Church; that they considered endowments and an establishment by law as best fitted for the church in that

country; that they looked with interest on the contest between the Dissenters and the Established Churches in Britain and Ireland; and that their sympathies were with the latter.

Jan. 9. Ther. 33°. *Sully's Portrait of Queen Victoria*.—A suit in law is proceeding here between Mr. Sully, the painter, who resides in Philadelphia, and the St. George's Society of this City. They offered him \$1000 for a portrait of Queen Victoria. He went to London, obtained sittings, and painted the picture. He exhibited it in London, for his own advantage, and brought it home. He wished to exhibit it here also, for his own benefit; but the proprietors object and deny his right to do so. He is copying it, before he delivers it, and they dispute also his right to do this. He considers himself to be supporting one of the acknowledged privileges of artists; and there are various parties and opinions on the merits of the question, which are still under discussion.

*Mr. Norris's Locomotive Engines*.—We have had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Norris, a distinguished engineer of this city, who has just received orders from England for six locomotive engines, for the Birmingham and Great Western Railways. This circumstance is justly giving considerable public satisfaction here, as a practical acknowledgement of the superiority of American skill and workmanship.\*

*Mitigation of the Criminal Law*.—There is a strong desire among certain humane and enlightened individuals in Philadelphia, to realise the further mitigations of the criminal law, although on the whole it may be regarded as comparatively humane. I was amused at the light in which these endeavors were viewed by an eminent gentleman of the legal profession with whom I conversed on the subject. He complained of the

\* *The Railway Times* reports the favorable result of several experiments that were made with one of these engines, the *Philadelphia*, on the Bromsgrove Lickey inclined plane, on the Birmingham and Gloucester Railway, on the 10th of August 1840. The engine is described as having 12½ inch cylinders, a twenty-inch stroke, and driving wheels of four feet in diameter. These wheels are at the hinder part of the engine, and at the fore part there are four bearing wheels of 2 feet 6 inches diameter. The engine and tender, including the coke and water, weigh about 19 tons. The performance of the engine is reported to have been highly satisfactory. In New York, I saw a model of a railroad and locomotive engine, invented by Dr. Kissam of Broadway, for ascending inclined planes, which had been much commended by skilful engineers, but not tried in practice. It consisted chiefly of a very simple mechanical apparatus, by which the pressure of the wheels of the locomotive engine on the rail could be increased by the conductor of the train, to any extent he found necessary, limited only by the capacity of the rail to bear the force applied to it. The speed would be diminished in proportion to the pressure, but the apparatus seemed to give a complete command of adhesive power between the wheels and the rail.

modern philanthropists for obstructing the course of justice, and saving criminals from the gallows, who richly deserved that fate. One criminal, whose trial he witnessed, had murdered his wife, by beating her to death. The challenges of the jury by the prisoner, had exhausted the list of the summoned jurors, and in such cases it is usual for the judge to make up the legal number of jurors, by requesting any of the respectable spectators in court to serve. In this case a respectable man offered himself and was accepted. He was a philanthropist, came there for the purpose, and fairly starved out the rest of the jury, and induced them to return a verdict which involved the highest punishment short of death, thirty-four years imprisonment. They were disposed to have him hanged. He has been ten years in confinement, and has not yet manifested signs of remorse. It appears to me, that the philanthropist had not made a very great inroad on justice in this instance, even on the showing of the party who blamed him.

*American Institutions.*—The late amendments of the constitution of Pennsylvania, and the triumph of the democratic party in electing a majority of both Houses of the Legislature, and also the governor, have caused great irritation to the losing party, and a number of excellent and deserving persons are embarrassed by their own expulsion from office. I hear such persons say that they would prefer a military despotism to the institutions of the United States as at present administered; others, more moderate, inform me, that they would prefer a government like that of the British in Canada to their own democracy. It would be easy to represent these sayings as evidence that respectable persons in the United States are tired of their republican forms, and desire the repose of a monarchy; but I have had experience enough of political life to be able to distinguish between expressions uttered under irritation caused by defeat, and those which spring from sober conviction. If any American would collect and record the lamentations over the fallen greatness of the British Empire, and the prophetic anticipations of social ruin, uttered by the Tories after the passing of Lord Grey's Reform Bill, in 1832, he might prove to demonstration that the nation was then tired of liberty, and solicitous for a despotism. Not one of these Tories, however, would have agreed to surrender one privilege which his own class possessed, in order to bring in a despot: The Tories were discontented solely because some degree of control over the national affairs had been given to an extended class of the people, which so far abridged their own power. It is the same here. Those who invoke a despotism would fight to the last to preserve that liberty which they affect to despise, if a despot



should appear and propose to deprive them of it. Their unhappiness arises from some portion of power having passed from their own hands into those of the people. Allow this disappointment to subside, and they will prove themselves to be patriots true to their country and its institutions.

*Spirit of the People.*—An incident occurred, in regard to my lectures, which illustrates the mental condition of the mass of the people in this city. The Philadelphia Museum is a very large and handsome building, the upper floor of which is fitted up as a Museum of Natural History, and the lower floor is occupied by Mr. Dunn's Chinese Collection and a public lecture-room, which have separate doors. So far back as 11th December last, a friend engaged the lecture-room for sixteen nights at the rent of \$250. Subsequently, the directors of the Museum let the upper floor for concerts *à la Musard*, to be given by Frank Johnston and his brass band, [and to other persons for vocal performances.] These concerts are attended by 2000 or 3000 people, the admittance being 25 cents, or one shilling sterling each. The music is so loud that it often drowns my voice, and when the audience above applaud with their feet, I have no alternative but to stop till they have done. I wrote a letter to the person who has the charge of the Museum, soliciting him to explain to the audience that a lecture, attended by nearly 500 of their fellow-citizens, was proceeding below, and to beg of them as a favor to applaud with their hands instead of their feet. He replied, that to make such a request would only render the annoyance greater. As the lecture-room was let to me before Frank Johnston and his band [and others] began their performances, and as I was not warned of their nights, I thought that the directors were bound to remove the disturbance; in other words, to render the lecture-room fit for the purpose for which it was let; but I resolved to submit to the grievance. One of my audience, however, altogether unknown to me wrote a letter to the editor of the United States' Gazette, complaining of the interruption, and also of the benches being so close that "there is not space enough even for a short man to dispose of his legs." To this hour I have no suspicion who wrote the letter; but it produced the following reply:—

"Mr. Editor:—The remarks in your paper of January 9, lead me to conclude that Mr. Combe cares very little for the comfort of his audience, notwithstanding, in absence of every feeling of delicacy, he suggests, through the intervention of your correspondent, that the internal architectural accommodations of the lecture-room of the Philadelphia Museum be altered, and that the public of the city give up the *national* custom of applauding with their feet instead of their hands. Would clapping

of the hands alone be a sign of approbation understood by those who have ever been accustomed to be spoken to in sounds resulting from kicking of the heels?

“Let Mr. Combe and his friends take into consideration, that the Museum makes more in a single evening, than Mr. C. pays in rent for his whole course of lectures, and it is not to be expected that public concerts, given on established nights before Mr. C. came to this city,\* are to be put off for his accommodation, unless he come forward boldly, and as Paul Clifford elegantly expresses it, ‘forks up the blunt’ in a *quid pro quo*. Again, as the majority rules, it is not proper that thousands of the people should forego their amusement, to please Mr. C. and his 450 auditors. But there is a remedy. The Hall of the Musical Fund can be obtained for, I suppose, \$50 a night, about \$34 more than Mr. Combe pays for his present room. As the gentleman is independent of pecuniary considerations, and as the public are acquainted with the Fund Hall, I see no objection to the change, unless a *want of change* should be urged against this suggestion.

“ONE OF THE AUDIENCE.”

The editor of the paper added the following note to this communication:—

“We think it proper to state, that the article to which our correspondent alludes, was not written at the suggestion of Mr. Combe, but by one who is an attendant upon his lectures, and who, in paying for a ticket, deemed himself entitled to hear—and, not hearing, to complain.

“Whether Mr. Combe will go to another hall or not, we cannot say; but if he hired that in the Museum, he supposed it suited to the purposes for which it was let, and not exposed to interruption.

“We do not feel called upon to enter into any discussion of the matter, not being of the audience above or below; but having complied with the suggestion of a friend in the hint we gave, we have thought it due to him to say, that his motives were only what they purport to be, viz: the convenience of Mr. Combe’s audience.—ED. U. S. G.”

After this letter appeared, the applauding with the feet increased; and I asked several gentlemen whether they really had so unfavorable an opinion of the urbanity and sense of justice of the audience above as to believe, that if civilly requested, after a proper explanation, they would not agree to use their

\* This is not a correct statement; I engaged the room on the 11th December, and the concerts were not then announced.

hands. Some said, that they thought the people would willingly do so, if addressed by a person whom they respected; others, however, were of opinion, that the request would only make them more aware of their power, and dispose them the more to use it, and to increase the disturbance. Certainly, nobody ventured to address them, and we sustained the evil to the close of the performances, and near the end of my course.

The impression which this incident made on my mind in regard to the state of *morale* of the people of Philadelphia, and to the relation subsisting between them and the enlightened class, was not favorable. The foregoing letter breathes the very spirit of injustice and vulgar insolence, and I thought that if that class of citizens who had sufficient refinement to enjoy a concert of instrumental music, and sufficient wealth to be able to afford a shilling each night for hearing it, entertained and acted on the sentiments which it expressed, I should pity the nation which was subject to their rule. Subsequent events, however, satisfied me, that this inference is not fairly warranted by the circumstances. The letter was the emanation of a single mind. This is, therefore, chargeable on the individual alone who wrote it. A lawyer in a distant state who had been much accustomed to public life, and to whom I narrated the circumstances, put this simple question to me:—Did you apply to persons accustomed to public speaking when you wished the audience above to be addressed? I then recollected that at that time all my acquaintances were among medical men, professors, and private citizens, and I answered, No. “This,” said he, “explains the whole difficulty. No man unaccustomed to meet our people face to face, and to feel their pulse as he addresses them, could have ventured to ask a favor from two thousand of them, with a fair chance of success; but if you had found some one of their own public characters, who knew them, and whom they knew, to make the request, I venture to say, that it would have instantly been complied with, and you should have had no more annoyance.” I was at that time comparatively a stranger to the American people, but after a much more extensive experience of their qualities, I acknowledge my conviction to be that this gentleman is in the right.(a)

Jan. 11. Ther. 40°. *Phrenology*.—In consequence of my ignorance that the Delaware was subject to freezing below Philadelphia, I sent the collection of casts, skulls, and drawings

(a) There is a fallacy in the opinion of the gentleman “in a distant state,” owing to his overlooking the fact, that the composition of the audience at the Museum concerts was never the same on any two nights: and hence the address, asking of them not to disturb their fellow citizens below, would have had to be repeated every night.

used in my lectures from New York to this city by sea. They left New York on the 25th December, and they have been sticking in the ice within Cape May since the 27th, and are there still. Fortunately the Phrenological Society of Philadelphia procured a collection of casts from Edinburgh many years ago, which have been kindly lent to me, and Professors Gibson, Horner, and M'Clellan, and Dr. Bell, and other friends, have amply supplied all remaining deficiencies of illustrations. My regular audience is now 500, and it is composed of the first class of ladies and gentlemen in the city, including many of the professors and medical practitioners.

Jan. 12. Ther. 48°. *The Girard College.*—Mr. Girard was an old merchant, who had accumulated great wealth, and became desirous of providing at once a monument for himself, and a college for orphans. He left his fortune in trust to the city council of Philadelphia, with instructions to accomplish these objects. He prescribed the character of the structure and the thickness of the walls, rendering the college both fire-proof and durable. He gave directions, also, regarding the instruction to be given to the orphans. He wished to rear them free from sectarian animosities, and prohibited every person invested with clerical functions not only from being employed as a teacher, but from entering within the precincts of the institution. “According to the will of Mr. Girard, orphan boys are to be educated in his college from the age of six years to fourteen, sixteen, and even eighteen years of age. ‘The materials of their instruction must be ‘things rather than words,’ and the degree is to be such ‘as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant.’” Among other subjects of instruction to be provided for them, he enumerates “geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy, natural, chemical, and experimental philosophy;” and he directs “books, and philosophical and experimental instruments, and apparatus,” to be procured for carrying forward these branches.”

“My desire is,” says he, in his will, “that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains (by precept and example) to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that on their entrance into active life they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry.”

The city council of Philadelphia entrusted the execution of the will to a board of trustees nominated by themselves, consisting of the most respectable and enlightened individuals of the town, whose moral and religious character might serve as a guarantee to the public, that although the clergy were excluded

from the management, no designs hostile to religion were entertained. The trustees elected Alexander Dallas Bache, Esq., LL.D., a great-grandson of Dr. Franklin, president of the college, and on the 9th of July, 1836, they passed a resolution authorising him to visit all establishments in Europe similar to the Girard College, or any others which promised to afford useful information in organising it, and to report. In the mean time, they have proceeded to carry the will into execution, and have expended considerably above the full income of the fund, which is said to be about £24,000 sterling annually, in building the college.

We had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Dr. Bache in Edinburgh, and after completing his tour of inspection, he was our fellow passenger to America in the Great Western. He and Mr. Walter, the architect of the college, kindly accompanied us in our visit to the institution.

Before my leaving Philadelphia, Dr. Bache presented me with a copy of his "Report on Education in Europe to the Trustees" of the College. It extends to 666 pages 8vo., and contains probably the most valuable account of the European institutions for education which exists. It details the things taught, the modes of teaching, the order of the day, showing the amount of time occupied in study, play, &c., the tables of diet in the various eleemosynary institutions which he visited, and a great variety of other useful items of information. He leaves it to the trustees to form from this mass of valuable materials such a system for the Girard College as their own wisdom shall dictate. He sums up his report in the following words:

"The first provision (of the will), from the early age of admission which it enjoins, enables us to train as well as to instruct; the second indicates that the tendency of our training should be towards practical life. The age of our pupils embraces the period from elementary to superior instruction, and we are expressly called upon to develop talent. Our college must, therefore, combine the primary, secondary, and special schools. The means furnished by our munificent benefactor to execute his intentions are vast, and if the benefits thence accruing are not in proportion, the responsibility must rest with those to whom they have been entrusted." "Our founder has furnished them the means of establishing a series of model schools for moral, intellectual, and physical education, embracing the period of life from early youth almost to manhood, the importance of which to our city, and even to the country at large, can hardly be estimated."

Dr. Bache appears to have executed the important duty devolved on him with great industry and ability, and his own views

of education are liberal and enlightened. In Pennsylvania education is deficient not only in quantity, but still more in quality; and as it is extremely difficult to induce an uninstructed people to adopt improvements of the want of which they have no consciousness, and of the value of which they have no adequate comprehension; and as no onward movement can be made in any thing without their sanction, this magnificent institution, if well managed, may become a radiating centre from which higher views both of education and of modes of instruction may be diffused over the whole state.

David M'Clure, Esq., under the signature of "A native of Philadelphia," has already presented the Board of Trustees with a very able "System of Education for the Girard College for Orphans," which, he says, is calculated to secure three prominent and important points expressed in Mr. Girard's will. 1st, To make complete French and Spanish scholars; 2d, To afford to superior talents superior advantages; 3dly, To make thoroughly practical as well as scientific men." He proposes to classify the pupils in the following manner: viz. 1st, Infant; 2d, Grammar; 3d, Scientific; and, 4th, Collegiate, departments, and he presents detailed suggestions for instruction in each. Numerous valuable views are presented in this work, which extends to an octavo volume of 363 pages, and evinces deep interest in the success of the institution.

Mr. Girard calls on his trustees to "develope talent," but *ex nihilo nihil fit*—nature must give ability before it can be unfolded; and the records of several eleemosynary institutions of a kind similar to his college, which have been in operation, under the management of various public bodies, or of trustees, in Edinburgh, for more than a century and a half, have developed comparatively little talent of high order, during the whole of that long period. They have furnished many useful and respectable citizens, but I have not read any list of more distinguished men who have emanated from its halls. A similar remark probably applies to many other eleemosynary institutions. There must be a cause for this dearth of high talent. I do not impute it to neglect in the teachers, or to want of patronage and opportunities of rising afforded to the pupils: The instruction is equal to that generally received by boys in the middle ranks of life, and the directors, being influential men, are both able and willing to advance the pupils in after life. to the full extent of their abilities. Besides, great talents need no patrons: They unfold themselves, and open the way to distinction not only unaided, but in opposition to the most momentous obstacles.

The explanation which I venture to give of the dearth of

great talent in the pupils of eleemosynary institutions is one furnished by Phrenology. Children become destitute orphans (and only such are received into these hospitals,) either in consequence of their parents having married late, so that their strength was exhausted, and they died before rearing their offspring; or from their having possessed bad constitutions, which sunk before the usual age of decay; or from their having had feeble or ill-balanced brains, which led them into vicious, reckless, or foolish conduct, terminating in premature death; or from some combination of these or similar causes. Only in cases of blameless accidents can children become destitute orphans, without some serious departure by their parents from the laws of health impressed by the Creator on the human constitution. The children, therefore, furnished by society for these institutions may be viewed as generally descending from parents of inferior constitutions; these imperfections are transmitted to the offspring; and hence the latter rarely rise to superiority over the children of better constituted individuals.

I perceive that as the civic rulers of Philadelphia are the patrons of the Girard College, their political opponents have already begun to make "political capital" out of their management of it. They accuse them of converting the vast expenditure attending its erection into jobs, and means of political corruption. Mr. Girard, however, has taken precautions to avert any gross deviation from the objects of his will, by declaring, that if the city functionaries shall infringe the rules which he has laid down, they shall forfeit the management, which shall then devolve on the state. This provision makes them act with the greatest circumspection, and during my stay in Philadelphia I repeatedly heard of their laying cases before the most eminent lawyers for advice, whether certain contemplated measures were or were not consistent with the will.

*Cemetery at Laurel Hill.*—This cemetery is situated about three and a half miles from Philadelphia; it lies between the Schuylkill river, on the west, and the Ridge road on the east, and extends to upwards of twenty acres. The highest point of the grounds is at least one hundred feet above the level of the river, to which it slopes gradually down. It is planted with forest-trees, and ornamented with shrubs and flowers. The entrance is a pure specimen of Doric architecture, occupying a space of 216 feet along the road. There is a cottage *ornée* for the residence of the superintendent; a beautiful Gothic chapel, a large house for visitors to rest in, a receiving tomb, and stabling for forty carriages, with a green-house for the protection of the ornamental plants and shrubs in winter. The first object that strikes the eye after passing within the gate, is a small Gothic

erection, within which Thom's group of Old Mortality is placed. There sits Sir Walter Scott, and beside him are Old Mortality and his pony, all most appropriately placed among the tombs. The cemetery belongs to an incorporated joint stock company, and was instituted only in 1836.

Jan. 13. Therm. 40°. *Sunday*.—We heard Mr. Furness preach an excellent sermon on the resurrection of Lazarus, occasioned by the death of a young mother belonging to the congregation. He is the first and only Unitarian minister in Philadelphia. His church is handsome, and his congregation numerous and genteel. Philadelphia is distinguished for orthodoxy and Quakerism.

Jan. 15. Therm. 33°. *Prosperous Times*.—These are what are called "prosperous times" in Philadelphia. The depression which attended the suspension of cash-payments by the banks in 1837 has passed away. Bank paper is now abundant, speculation is afloat, and prices are high. A house in Chestnut Street, in the best situation, with a front under thirty feet, and ground extending probably 150 feet backwards, has just been sold for \$35,000 (7000*l.* sterling,) to be converted into a china store. The stores, or shops, in this city, are very handsome, and their wares are of a sumptuous description. The display of female beauty and good taste presented by Chestnut Street on a fine day, would do credit to any European city.

Jan. 16. Therm. 20°. *John Vaughan, Esq. and Benjamin Franklin*.—Mr. Vaughan is now in his 83d year, and is one of the most interesting men in Philadelphia. He is secretary to the American Philosophical Society, and lives in their apartments. He was educated under the auspices of Benjamin Franklin, was his intimate friend, and, in a long career of public usefulness and private benevolence, has faithfully walked in his footsteps. He was one of Dr. Franklin's suite when he was presented to Marie Antoinette after France had recognised the independence of the United States. Dr. Franklin had ordered a wig, and intended to appear in a full court dress; but when the wig was sent to him, it was too small. He told the perquier that he had marred his whole arrangements by this blunder, and that it was now too late to rectify it. "*Ah! mon Dieu, Monsieur, c'est que vôtre tete est trop grosse,*" was the ready reply; and Franklin at once resolved to appear in his velvet coat, of the Quaker cut, with his hair combed back; in short, in his usual attire when dressed for a private party. His fine venerable figure, in this unique yet becoming apparel, created quite a sensation in the French court, and what was the result merely of a barber's blunder, was talked of as an admira-



ble specimen of good taste and republican independence! His suite were all in court dresses; and as Mr. Vaughan had only newly arrived at Passy, he was fitted with clothes hired for the day from a fripier.

In the hall of the American Philosophical Society there is a portrait of Franklin in the act of reading. He is dressed in a wig and light blue coat. This portrait, which Mr. Vaughan describes as an exact resemblance, gives him an expression about the lower part of the face different from that of any other portrait which I have seen; it indicates more concentration of mind. The bust of him, of which we have casts in Edinburgh, is here in marble, and is a duplicate of the head and shoulders of his statue erected above the front door of the Philadelphia Library, of which he was the founder. It also is a faithful representation of him according to Mr. Vaughan's testimony. His chair likewise is here, and bespeaks his ingenious mind. It is in itself an old, comfortable, leather-covered arm-chair, on wheels. But the bottom turns round on a pivot, and its under side presents steps for mounting up to the shelves of the library. The chair in which Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence is also preserved here. It is small, circular in form, with arms, and a high back; and a flat black board is fixed over the right arm, on which Jefferson wrote.

*American Declaration of Independence.*—In the library is shown an original draught of the Declaration of Independence in Jefferson's handwriting, with all the corrections made on it in its progress through congress. The Edinburgh Review, in noticing Captain Marryatt's observations on this document, in his work on the United States, ridicules the idea of its being an original, and says that if Captain Marryatt "had ever read that very interesting book (Memoirs of Jefferson, i, 17), he would have been aware how grossly a Mr. Vaughan of Philadelphia was *hoaxing* him when he talked of having discovered the original draught of the Declaration of Independence."\* Captain Marryatt, in his second work, rates Miss Martineau soundly for having written that review, but this remark affords strong presumptive evidence to me that she was not guilty of that transgression. No one who had been as much in literary society in Philadelphia as she was, could have spoken of "a Mr. John Vaughan." Such a phrase was as unlikely to have presented itself to her, as that of "a Mr. Macvey Napier" would be to occur to a literary stranger speaking of the distinguished men of Edinburgh. Again, she must have known that the evidence of this being a genuine document is complete. On my

\* Edin, Review, No. 141, p. 134.

second visit to Philadelphia in March 1840, Mr. Vaughan enabled me to peruse original letters, giving its history from the day it was composed, to that on which it was presented to the American Philosophical Society. Mr. Jefferson wrote with his own hand two copies of his first draught; and sent one to Richard Henry Lee, who moved its adoption in congress, and the document which Mr. Vaughan showed to Captain Marryatt, and which I minutely examined, is *that* duplicate with the corrections added. He showed me a large collection of letters extending over twenty years, and ending in 1826, written to himself by Thomas Jefferson, and the identity of the handwriting in them and in this draught is evident. I saw numerous autographs of Franklin, and perceived that the corrections on the draught, said to be in his handwriting, are clearly genuine. Mr. Vaughan exhibited also a letter, dated a few weeks before my visit, from the son of Richard Henry Lee to himself, expressing his astonishment at the reviewer's remarks.

Among the passages deleted by Congress, is a vehement denunciation against George III, for exercising his veto to prevent the abolition of the slave trade, when proposed by the colonies. On pages 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21, of the "Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the papers of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph" (Boston, 1830), the Declaration of Independence, in its original and amended forms (the original containing this paragraph), is printed at full length; and at page 146, a fac-simile of it (taken from the draft in the Library) is given. These copies correspond in every particular with the draught in the society's Library, which is framed between two thick plates of glass, for its preservation. The Reviewer refers to this Memoir as showing that Captain Marryatt must have been hoaxed; but it does not contain a word to warrant such an assumption.

*Money Exchange.*—I wished to remit a sum of \$1000 to New York, and applied to two of the first banks here for a draft on that city; but they referred me to the brokers, whose numerous "exchange offices" abound in Philadelphia as they do in New York. I learned that nearly the whole business of exchange is in the hands of these brokers. The draught was purchased from a broker, and the premium was only \$3 at sight. The rise of the profession of brokers is recent. The following interesting account of it appeared lately in one of the American periodicals:—

"At this period (1800) of the history of New York, the business of a broker was hardly known; there were only three stock and exchange brokers in the city. They were Nathaniel Prime, Leonard Bleecher, and A. H. Lawrence. The two first

are living. Their operations in stocks were very small. Only two banks, viz.: the New York and the United States, were in existence, added to which, there were two or three insurance stocks. Then it was rare that a share was bought except for investment.

“The change in this branch of business has been truly astonishing. We are enabled to give a list, amounting to eighty-six in number, belonging to the board. Besides these, there are many who deal in money, real estate, and stocks, that do not belong to the board.

“The question naturally arises, how so many persons can obtain a living? which is solved by the fact, that, from the examination of one gentlemen’s books, we find that sales of from \$400,000 to \$800,000 are now made in stock in a day, and in brisk times the sales will average a million. The greatest operations are in fancy stocks, which fluctuate daily from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 and 5 per cent. Delaware and Hudson is the foot-ball. One large dealer informs us that he sold of this stock alone, a number of shares equal to the whole capital. The brokerage paid in that stock alone, is immense, perhaps equal to one-half the capital per annum. Harlæm, Mohawk, and Stonington, are among the “Fancies.” Stonington has been as high as 125, and as low as 18. A broker of our acquaintance purchased for a gentleman at 65. He went to the East Indies—in the mean time it fell to 18. A few days after he returned, he sold out at 69, leaving him a fair interest. Harlæm has been as high as 200, and as low as 34. Mohawk has experienced the same fluctuations. Dry Dock has varied about 70 per cent. during the past year. The capitals of the Fire Stocks have, within five years, been nearly all swept away. They are now very stable. The Marine Companies are much depressed.

“The stock speculators are divided, taking the same names as those familiarly known in London, ‘Bulls and Bears.’ The former endeavor to carry up stocks, while the latter are interested in carrying them down. In the number of produce brokers, and the amount of business done, there has been quite as great a change. At the period alluded to there were but two persons engaged as produce brokers, and they transacted but little business. Now the number is very great, and the operations immense.”

Jan. 17. Ther. 30°. *The Streets.*—The streets are covered with sheets of pure ice, rendering it dangerous to walk on them. I asked why sand or ashes were not strewed on them, and was told that viseters would bring it into the houses on their feet and dirty the carpets! They may break their limbs by falling, but the carpets must be preserved unsullied. I admire very much the richness and perfect preservation of the carpets on the public

rooms in most of the houses in which we visit in this city, but I would give up a little of the pleasure which they afford me for the sake of safety in the streets. However, the tastes of the citizens are more to be regarded than those of a passing stranger.

Jan. 18. Ther. 33°. The weather is delightful; bright sunshine and very moderate frost. *Phrenology*.—Several days ago, Dr. Winn Bush called and informed me that he had seen Dr. George M'Clellan remove two tumors from the head of a young man named Richardson, one external to the skull at the situation of the organs of Firmness and Conscientiousness, and the other internal; that the skull to the extent of several square inches had been removed, and that the brain in this region was found to have disappeared; that nevertheless, the patient had sat up in full possession of all his mental faculties, and conversed with them during the operation, and, particularly, had manifested great firmness and self-possession; and he requested me to reconcile these facts with Phrenology. The case had attracted much attention, and was extensively spoken of in Philadelphia as one strikingly adverse to Phrenology. My reply was, that if such a case had occurred, it was the first that I had heard of sufficiently authenticated; and that I could offer no opinion on it till I should see it myself, which I solicited permission to do. To-day, Dr. M'Clellan was so kind as to take me with him, when he went to dress the wound. He stated, however, that the supposed difficulty in regard to Phrenology had disappeared, because on the second or third dressing he and Dr. Bush were astonished to see that the convolutions had risen up, and that in point of fact they had never been destroyed, but only displaced by the pressure of the internal tumor. It was about the size and form of half of a hen's egg cut longitudinally. The external tumor was about the same size. Both had been formed in consequence of a blow received from a stone, so slight at first as scarcely to attract attention; and their growth had extended over a period of three years. The interior tumor had been formed between the skull and the falx, the longitudinal canal having been carried down uninjured below its lower surface. Dr. M'Clellan remarked, that the slow growth explained the non-affection of the mental faculties. The brain had never been disorganised, but merely pressed downwards, and Nature had accommodated herself to the change.

When I saw the patient he was pale and much reduced in flesh, but placid and quite intelligent. He rose from bed, came into the adjoining room, and sat before the fire. On the dressing being removed, I saw the surface of the organs of Self-Esteem, and Love of Approbation exposed. They were large, particularly Self-Esteem. They rose and fell with the pulsation of the

arteries. They were entire, and on a level with the other portions of the brain. I conversed with him, and received from himself the information which is here embodied concerning the cause and growth of the tumor. He said he knew that it was a matter of life and death, and resolved to submit to the operation, and to endure it manfully. His organs of Firmness seemed to be very large, but they were not involved in the injury, or only partially so, at the posterior edge.

Dr. M'Clellan stated that this case showed the importance of surgeons knowing accurately the situation of the organs; because, although he now saw that the organs of Firmness were not involved, he would at first have certified that they were destroyed, and that the patient manifested the faculty powerfully: He was now satisfied that the organs affected by the tumor were Self-Esteem and Love of Approbation, and that he had not had adequate opportunities of judging whether the manifestations of these faculties were affected or not; besides, there was before our eyes evidence that the convolutions had not been disorganised.

The patient recovered, and after his convalescence he mentioned facts that showed that his sentiments of Self-Esteem and Love of Approbation had not remained unaffected during the progress of the disease. He was a player and ventriloquist, and performed in the western cities. He stated, that before receiving the blow, he was an entire stranger to diffidence. For the first three months after the accident, he felt no change in his mental condition, and was not aware that there was an affection of his head. At the end of that time, the external tumor began to attract his attention, and he felt also visitations of diffidence, which he had never before experienced. He was convinced that his powers of acting were unimpaired, yet he could not give effect to this conviction—for he felt as if he should fail. In the course of time his self-confidence diminished so much that he could no longer appear on the stage, yet his intellectual faculties were clear and active.\*

So far from this case, therefore, having been unfavorable to Phrenology, it proved, when fully investigated, a striking confirmation of its truth. Dr. M'Clellan is Professor of Surgery in the Jefferson College, Philadelphia, and he subsequently informed me, that before my arrival in that city, he had ridiculed Phrenology in his lectures; that he had come to my lectures with

\* In April, 1840, the patient most unexpectedly accosted me in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He was then in good health, and acting as bar-keeper in a hotel. He was occasionally subject to headaches, but did not mention any other inconvenience affecting him. [A detailed account of the case of Richardson, written by Dr. M'Clellan, has been published in the *American Phrenological Journal*, No. 4, Vol. iii, (January, 1840.)]

the view of obtaining additional materials for refuting it; that he had at first conceived this case to be one strongly adverse to its pretensions, but now saw that it was the reverse; that the result of hearing my whole course had been to convince him of the futility of the objections on which he had previously relied, and to dispose him to devote a serious attention to the subject. Before I left Philadelphia, he made the *amende honorable* to his class; told them that he had rashly condemned the science; that its principles were consistent with the best established facts in physiology, and that it was supported by a greater body of evidence than he had imagined. He wrote a letter to the same effect to Dr. Sewall of Washington, whom he had previously encouraged in his attacks against the science, and strongly counselled him to revise his opinions.

*Portrait of General Washington.*—I visited the studio of Mr. Rembrandt Peale. He is the son of the earliest portrait-painter that America can boast of, and his father seems to have been an enthusiast in the art (as this gentleman is himself), for he named two of his sons Rembrandt and Titian, and educated both as painters. Mr. Rembrandt Peale was personally acquainted with General Washington, and painted a large equestrian portrait of him, which he preserves in his studio. The charger is white: The picture appeared to me to possess much merit as a work of art; and the likeness has been pronounced to be faithful. Washington's head, as here delineated, is obviously large; and the anterior lobe of the brain is large in all directions; the organ of Benevolence is seen to rise, but there the moral organs disappear under the hair. The temperament is bilious-sanguine; the action of the muscles of the mouth strongly express Secretiveness and Firmness, and the eyes bespeak these qualities combined with Cautiousness. The general expression of the countenance is that of sagacity, prudence, and determination.

Mr. Peale mentioned that his father painted a miniature of the General, in his head-quarters, for Mrs. Washington. His bedroom was so small that it admitted only of one chair, which was dedicated to the painter, and Washington sat on the froat of the bed. It was the only apartment occupied by the General as his own. His officers were in the other rooms crowded together. A messenger arrived, and a despatch was presented to Washington. He read the signature and part of the contents, and, without speaking a word, handed it to an officer, one of his aides-de-camp, who was present, and he continued conversing with the painter. The officer read and returned the despatch; Washington then read it deliberately from beginning to end, and at the distance of half an hour from first receiving it, he said, "Burgoyne has surrendered; this is an account of it."

Mr. Peale mentioned that General Washington sat to him three times for his portrait, in an apartment in the State House. The hour was seven in the morning. The first morning, when the State House clock struck the first bell of seven, the door opened, Washington entered with his watch in his hand, and he was seated before the clock had done striking the hour. The second morning he was seen walking in the State House yard; he was going *from* the stair when the first stroke of seven reached his ear; he wheeled instantly, walked quickly back, ascended, and was in the room before the clock had finished seven, again holding his watch in hand. On the third morning he entered as the clock began to strike.

During the war of independence, a base attempt was made to injure Washington by representing him as a traitor. It was stated, that one of his servants had run away from him, and carried off a bundle of letters, and that among these were duplicates of several which he had written to one of the British commanders, offering to use his influence to bring back the Americans to their allegiance to Great Britain. Washington was a man of awful presence and reserved habits. Every one was afraid to ask him if the letters were genuine, and he did not deign to utter a word on the subject himself. The whole country was in a state of excitement about them, when Mr. Peale's uncle, who was an intimate friend of Washington, ventured to put the question to him. He allowed a smile to play for an instant on his countenance, as if glad that he had been asked, and replied: "Sir, I never lost any papers, and no servant of mine ever ran away." These words were published, and their effect was electrical. The calumny was extinguished instantly.\*

It is deeply to be regretted that there is no cast of the head of Washington taken from nature. I have examined the common busts and portraits of him, but they show only that the head was large, and that its general proportions were harmonious. I have heard the question discussed both in England and the United States, whether Washington was really a great man; seeing that he did not, in any particular direction, show any extraordinary power. Judging from his conduct and his writings, as well as from what we know of his head, I infer, that he was one of those rare specimens of humanity in whom nearly all the mental organs are largely developed, and in harmonious proportions. Such a combination produces a character distinguished for mental power in all directions. His temperament, as already stated, seems to have been sanguine-bilious,

\* Mr. Peale mentioned these anecdotes, which are characteristic of Washington, during several sittings, which, at his own request, I gave him for my portrait.

giving activity and the capacity of long endurance. He exhibited a constancy which no difficulties could shake, an honesty of purpose and ardor of patriotism which no temptations could overcome or opposition subdue. He placed the welfare of his country on its true basis, that of industry and virtue; and he always regarded its interests before his own. In him there was no important quality of mind deficient, and no quality in excess; there were in his understanding no false lights, and no deficient lights. He gave to every thing its due weight and no more. He was dignified, courteous, and remarkably just. He was brave, yet cautious and politic; quick to perceive and prompt to execute; always acting at the right time, and in the right manner. Those who say that he was not a great man, can merely mean that he displayed no one quality in excess; that he showed no coruscations of isolated talent, and performed no individual acts calculated to dazzle or amaze mankind. But he accomplished a very great achievement, the independence of his country, by a succession of most wise and efficient measures, every one of which showed mental superiority. In short, he displayed, in a long career both of adversity and prosperity, that sterling worth of soul, that clear and sound judgment, that grandeur of the whole man, which rendered him far more great and estimable than those geniuses who are endowed with splendid partial talents combined with great defects. In my opinion, Washington was one of the greatest men that ever lived.

One of the most touching monuments of his patriotism with which I became acquainted in the United States, was "a facsimile of his public accounts, kept during the Revolutionary War," printed in Washington in 1838, of which my excellent friend Mr. Thomas Gilpin presented me with a copy. The accounts commence in June, 1775 and end in June 1783, and are all written with his own hand. They extend to 66 folio pages. The authenticity of the copy is certified by the chief of the Engineer Department at Washington, on 24th September, 1833. It is published "for the benefit of Washington's Manual-Labor School and Male-Orphan Asylum." Although he accepted of no salary or pay, he is minute to an extraordinary degree, in the specification of his expenses, and the account contains notes in explanation of every sum which appears to be large, and also intimations of all claims which he conceives to be still due by the United States, to individuals employed in his service. In the Appendix, No. V, will be found the first four pages of these accounts.

January 19. Ther. 30°. *Lynch Law*.—A criminal trial is proceeding here in the court of Oyer and Terminer, before Judges King and Randall, of Henry Chauncey as principal,



and of William Nixon, and William Armstrong, accessories, for the murder of Eliza Sowers, in an attempt to produce abortion. The accused were at large on bail, but the audience in court were so strongly excited by some of the evidence against Nixon, that on leaving it they attempted to lynch him, and he was rescued by the police. Chauncey was subsequently condemned, while Nixon was acquitted. The populace of Edinburgh endeavored to treat the notorious murderer, William Hare, the associate of Burke, in the same manner, when he was liberated from prison after Burke's condemnation. The conduct of the mob in Philadelphia was mentioned in the newspapers and slightly condemned. In society, however, I heard the outrage spoken of in terms of strong condemnation, and mob ascendancy seems to be regarded as an increasing evil. In Philadelphia, last year, a mob burned down a splendid public hall, because meetings were held in it for the abolition of slavery, and no attempt was made to prevent them. The fire-companies, with their engines, attended, and strenuously exerted themselves in preventing the fire from spreading to the adjoining buildings, but they made no efforts to extinguish the fire in the hall itself. From the tone in which such outrages are spoken of in the public journals, there appears to be abroad, in the minds of men generally, a fear of the people, which deters them from boldly speaking disagreeable truths to the masses. They are right to abstain from scolding or violent vituperation; but they withhold also, to too great an extent, the language of fervid reason and energetic moral sentiment in condemnation of their conduct. I observe that a virtuous editor occasionally gives full expression to his just indignation against acts of violence committed by the people in some distant state or city, where his paper does not circulate. This is well, but it would be still better and more magnanimous if he would also boldly condemn domestic iniquities.

The trial of Chauncey brought to light many indelicate and disgusting scenes, all of which were reported in the newspapers. In Edinburgh, such trials are conducted with closed doors, and the details are omitted by the reporters for the press.

*Advertisements.*—The American newspapers insert advertisements on moderate terms, and have a very large proportion of their sheets filled with them. Any one may, for a fixed sum, engage a certain number of inches in a column during the year, into which he may insert whatever notices he pleases. The charge for insertion of a standing advertisement is diminished, within certain limits, at each repetition. The consequence is, that advertisements are repeated so often that they are not generally read. In many instances, after the most extensive adverti-

sing of my lectures, I have met with individuals who had never seen the announcement of them, and who confessed that they did not read advertisements. There is one part of the paper, at the close of editorial remarks, in which advertisements may be inserted at a higher rate, and these are pretty generally looked at; but those among the dense columns of old advertisements have little chance of attracting attention. The only way of being certain to be read, is to obtain an editorial paragraph referring to the notice in another column. The editors were so obliging as generally to favor me with these mementos; but the regular advertisers are thrown upon their own means for arresting the public eye. One common method is to print in capital letters at the top some very importunate words, such as "Cure your cough! cure your cough!! cure your cough!!!" Then follows the announcement of some sovereign balm, lozenge, or lotion:—Or "Boots! boots!! boots!!!" "Stoves! stoves!! stoves!!!" There is character in these announcements. In America, every one is so intently and so exclusively engaged about his own affairs, that urgent appeals must be made before his attention can be diverted to the pretensions of his neighbors.

*Coal.*—Mines of anthracite coal are wrought in the interior of Pennsylvania, and the produce is imported in large quantities into all the Atlantic cities. The coal requires a chimney with a strong draught to make it burn, but when fairly ignited it gives a powerful heat. The present prices per ton of 2240 lbs. are for "large lumps \$5.50;" "broken and screened \$6;" "large egg \$5.50;" "nut \$5."

*Aristocracy.*—The London Atlas of 1st December last, contains a clever article on the English Aristocracy, which has led to an interesting conversation with some of the citizens of Philadelphia. The Atlas admires the titled aristocracy, because it presents an exciting object to the ambition of the inferior ranks, and stimulates them to exertion: It is not a barrier impassable to merit, but on the contrary, one which opens and admits the man of plebeian birth when he acquires great wealth, or distinguishes himself by his talents. It is thus preserved from senility, and at the same time continues to command the reverence of all the inferior grades. These reasons strike men very differently here. The plebeian, it is here said, when absorbed into the hereditary peerage, leaves his own class, with all his interest in it; he enters the higher ranks, adopts their sentiments, and lends them the aid of his talents, energy, and knowledge, in supporting their privileges and pretensions. The people are thus first neglected, and then abandoned, by those who should have been their natural protectors; and they sink into degradation. I have seen it stated in English periodicals that Lords Eldon and Stowell were sons

of a barge-master and small coal-dealer at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; that Lord Tenterden was the son of a barber at Canterbury: Lord Gifford was articled to a solicitor, and Lord Langdale, the Master of the Rolls, was an accoucheur. The rise of such men, and of many others, to the highest rank and employments in the state, does honor certainly to themselves, and many persons think also to the institutions of the country under which such elevations are possible; but these successful aspirants forget the class from which they have sprung. In the United States, also, men of talent, integrity, and industry, rise to eminence and consideration; but if they seek the gratification of their ambition in any department of public life, they depend so completely on the people for their elevation, that they dare not neglect them. I have already mentioned that in the United States, ambitious lawyers, representatives, and senators, lecture to the people, deliver orations before them, and court their good opinion by private civilities. In England, this would be regarded by men of rank as a degradation.

The consequences of the two systems are very different. In England, the middle classes form a gulf of vast depth and width between the people and the aristocracy, and so completely cut off communication and sympathy between them, that the high aristocracy, generally speaking, have no just conceptions of the manner in which the people live, of the sufferings they endure, or of the effects of their own legislation on their happiness. The middle ranks, again, having their ambition directed upwards, become regardless of the people in proportion as their means of benefiting them increase: If a plebeian family acquire great wealth and become distinguished for superior talents, and by these advantages attain to a legitimate influence on the public councils of the nation, they are tempted, by the English institutions, to devote their whole advantages to the service of the aristocracy. In the United States, they cannot avoid dedicating them to that of the people. It is an evil certainly to live in subjection to an ignorant and self-willed multitude; but in proportion to the pressure of this evil, is the desire to escape from it strong; and there is only one means of deliverance in the United States; namely, by raising the people in their moral and intellectual condition. Accordingly, I perceive that the power of the people has already produced on the minds of men of every variety of disposition a deep impression of the urgent necessity for advancing the cause of general education. The selfish and rich have discovered that they have no security for their possessions except in the enlightenment and morality of the people; the philanthropists and philosophers rejoice in the improvement of the people as a measure which they have always desired; while the

divines labor for the elevation of the people as their proper vocation: The only indifference to education is found in the masses themselves, many of whom have not yet learned to appreciate its value; and the only opposition to it comes from unprincipled demagogues who entertain hopes for themselves, while the electors are ignorant, but whose sagacity enables them to descry their own ruin as the result of the general instruction of the people. Society in America, therefore, is so composed as to direct all the efficient forces of the social body, to one great object, the improvement of the masses.

In Britain, on the other hand, we have powerful established churches, so richly endowed that they are in no way dependent on the people, but solely on the aristocracy. In consequence, they have allowed the masses to fall into a deplorable state of ignorance.\* We have middle classes, who, in proportion as they become capable of serving the people, are tempted by a false ambition, to desert them; and an aristocracy so little in-

\* STATE OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

The register of marriages in England throws an incidental light upon the state of Education. The parties married sign their names, if they can write, and affix their marks, if they cannot. Judging by this criterion, it appears, that among 100 men who marry in England, the number unable to write is 33. Among 100 women, 49; and the mean of both, 41. As it is estimated that the number who marry annually is only about 3 per cent. of the persons marriageable, the data are too limited to afford sure results; but in the absence of better evidence, they are well worthy of attention. With this qualification, we give the proportions for the different sections of the country.

SCHOLARSHIP OF ENGLAND.

Of 100 of each sex who marry, the number who sign with *marks* is—

|                          | Males. | Females. | Mean. |
|--------------------------|--------|----------|-------|
| Southeastern counties, - | 32     | 40       | 36    |
| South-midland do. - -    | 43     | 53       | 48    |
| Eastern do. - -          | 45     | 52       | 48    |
| Southwestern do. - -     | 31     | 47       | 39    |
| Western do. - -          | 40     | 54       | 47    |
| North-midland do. - -    | 32     | 50       | 41    |
| Northwestern do. - -     | 39     | 63       | 51    |
| Yorkshire - - -          | 34     | 49       | 41    |
| Northern do. - -         | 21     | 42       | 31    |
| Monmouth and Wales, -    | 48     | 70       | 59    |
| The Metropolis, - -      | 12     | 24       | 18    |

The fact that 41 adults out of every 100 cannot write their names, is disgraceful to England, and to the Church in particular, whose especial duty it was, either to make provision for the education of the people, or to see that it was made by the State. The Church, in its collective capacity, has in fact been always hostile to the diffusion of knowledge.—*Review of the Registrar-General's Second Annual Report of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, for England, in Scotsman of 22d August, 1840.*

fluenced in its enjoyments, by the condition of the people, that we might suppose it to belong to a different race. To complete the system, in Britain the people are restrained from invading the peace of the superior classes by means of strong police and military forces, wielded by a vigorous executive government, which is supported in this exercise of its power, by all the influence of those whom it protects.

In the United States, the people have the power to tyrannise, if they please, over the wealthy, the educated, and the refined; in Britain, the aristocracy and middle classes have the power to trample, if they choose, on the masses who have no control over the legislators. So far as my observations extend, the people in the United States have not perpetrated one-twentieth part of the acts of injustice, by their legislation, against the rich, which the aristocracy in Britain have done by their legislation against the poor.\*

I freely confess that while I lived under the British institutions, and enjoyed the advantages which they confer on the upper and middle classes, I, like many others, had a less lively perception of their one-sided character. Even now, after contemplating the greatly superior condition of the masses in the United States, I am bound to state my conviction that this democracy, in its present condition of imperfect instruction, is a rough instrument of government, and that, were I to consult my personal comfort merely, I should prefer to live in England. But viewing the results of both, as a citizen of the world, and as a man bound to love his neighbor as himself, and perceiving that the one tends naturally to the elevation of the few and the degradation of the many, while the other tends to the improvement of all, it is impossible not to wish success to the American Republic.

\* I have given some examples of British Aristocratical Legislation against the people in my work on Moral Philosophy, p. 368, and shall present more in the subsequent pages of this journal.

## CHAPTER X.

The climate of Philadelphia—Godliness profitable unto all things—John Quincy Adams and Slavery—The Eastern Penitentiary—Phrenology—Asylum for the Blind—The Weather—Dr. Benjamin Rush—The Quakers—The Inward Light—Catholicism in the United States—Legislature of Pennsylvania—Phrenology—Mr. De Ponceau, Baron Hammer, and Captain Basil Hall—Common Schools—Monitors in Schools—Phrenology—The Judges—Practical Phrenology—The Alms House—Sorcery—The Free Negroes—Quaker Preaching—William Penn—Phrenology in Baltimore—Loss of the use of words, &c.—Fashion—Residences of the Poor—Emigrants—Musical instruments—Useful Knowledge.

1839.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 21. Ther. 33°. *The Climate*.—There is far less moisture in the air of Philadelphia than in that of British cities in winter, and more electricity. The climate is so stimulating, that wine is unnecessary, and to many persons disagreeable. On 11th January, I mentioned the circumstance of my collection of drawings and casts being on board of a schooner which was then frozen up in the Delaware. The ice-boat has succeeded in cutting a clear way in the river, and the vessel has arrived. I find that the boxes have been on deck all the voyage, and these not waterproof: Nevertheless there is scarcely any damage done even to the drawings. A small portion of water has entered and been frozen after reaching the first layer. In Dr. Franklin's days, the English considered the climate of America more damp than that of their own country, and he, with his usual sagacity, expresses doubts whether the opinion be correct, at least in regard to Philadelphia. Whatever may have been the state of matters then, the air is now certainly drier in the American city: But much of the forest has been cleared since that time.

*Godliness profitable unto all things*.—The Boston newspapers contain a circular, dated 19th December, 1838, addressed by the commissioners appointed by the Western Railroad Corporation, to the clergy of Massachusetts, pointing out to them "the moral effects of rail-roads," and earnestly requesting them "to take an early opportunity to deliver a discourse before your congregation, on the moral effect of rail-roads on our wide extended country." A Philadelphia newspaper, in copying this

circular, remarks that it is an improvement on the text, "Religion (Godliness) is profitable unto all things."

*John Quincy Adams and Slavery.*—Mr. Adams has encountered great obloquy for presenting to Congress petitions praying for the abolition of Negro Slavery. He is reported to have mentioned in his place in the House of Representatives, on the 21st January current, that he had received many letters, all post-marked, threatening him with assassination, while others were direct challenges to fight duels, in consequence of his presenting resolutions for inquiring into the conduct of Mr. Stevenson in England, and petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, and for the recognition of Hayti. He explained that he would vote against the *slave trade*, but "but he would now distinctly tell the house that if the question was put for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, he would vote against it." He hoped that the writers of these letters did not really mean to kill him, but only to intimidate him. In this, however, they should not succeed. Mr. Adams deserves praise for having publicly announced that such disgraceful communications had been sent to him. They show, in the individuals who could pen them, a mean, dastardly, and ferocious spirit; which nothing but a strong expression of public indignation can check.

January 22. Ther. 23°. *The Eastern Penitentiary.*\*—This day we visited the Eastern Penitentiary, of which Mr. S. R. Wood, one of the Society of Friends, is the warden. It is a state prison, situated on high ground northwest of the city, and is built in the Gothic style. It covers about ten acres of ground, and the ranges of cells radiate from a central tower to the high walls which surround the whole. It owes its origin to "the Philadelphia Society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons," who, from 1801 to 1821, addressed several petitions and memorials to the legislature, praying for the more effectual employment and separation of prisoners, and "for proving the efficacy of solitude on the morals of those unhappy objects." On 20th March, 1821, the legislature authorised its construction on the principle of "separate and solitary confinement at labor," and provided funds for its erection. It is said to have cost \$772,600.† It has attracted great attention, not only in America

\* I am aware that the report of Mr. Crawford to the British Government, and the works of De Tocqueville, Miss Martineau, and other travellers, have deprived this subject of all pretensions to novelty; but I perceive a great deficiency of information concerning criminals still existing in the public mind; and as important alterations in the Prison System of Scotland are now in progress, it appears to me to be useful to present once more, even at the risk of repetition, a view of the Eastern Penitentiary.

† "A Concise History of the Eastern Penitentiary." 1835.

but in Europe, in consequence of the experiment which has been tried in it of the effects of solitary confinement with labor, on the health and morals of offenders. It was opened on 1st July, 1829.

When a prisoner arrives, he is examined by the warden, and is then taken to the "preparing room." "Here he is divested of his usual garments, his hair is closely trimmed, and he undergoes the process of ablution. He is then clothed in the uniform of the prison, a hood or cap is drawn over his face, and he is conducted to his cell. The bandage is removed from his eyes, and he is interrogated as to his former life, which, as a matter of course, is seldom accurately related." The consequences of his crime, the object in view in his punishment, and the rules of the prison, are next explained to him. He is then locked up in solitude without employment. After enduring this state of existence for some days, and feeling its discomforts, he supplicates for the means of employment; which are granted to him, not as a punishment, but as a favor. He is also furnished with a bible, some religious tracts, and occasionally other works calculated to imbue his mind with moral and religious impressions. In every cell there is a pipe supplying pure water, a kind of water-closet, a bed, a chair, and the implements of the convict's labor. The apartment is heated in winter by pipes filled with hot water, and there is an aperture for ventilation, which is at the command of the convict. Every convict is obliged to keep his cell perfectly clean, and great attention is paid to the cleanliness of his clothing and person. The men receive a towel, a razor, and shaving apparatus. The clothing is comfortable, and adapted to the season. Their food consists, for breakfast, of one pint of coffee or cocoa, made from the cocoa nut, or mush. Dinner three-quarters of a pound of boiled beef without bone, or half a pound of pork, one pint of soup, and an ample supply of potatoes. Occasionally boiled rice instead of potatoes. Supper, mush (made of the flour of Indian corn boiled) *ad libitum*, one-half gallon of molasses per month, salt whenever asked for, and vinegar as a favor occasionally. Turnips and cabbage in the form of crout are sometimes distributed. The daily allowance of bread is one pound, made of wheat or rye:\*

Each convict on his reception receives a number in the books,

\* The allowance of food in the Glasgow Bridewell, one of the best managed prisons in Scotland, is as follows: Breakfast, eight ounces of oatmeal made into porridge, with a pint of butter milk. Dinner, two pints of broth (soup), containing four ounces of barley, and one ounce of bone, with vegetables; also eight ounces of bread. Supper, five ounces of oatmeal, made into porridge, with half a pint of butter milk. Cost of the whole, including cooking, 3 1-4d. "Fifth Report of Inspectors of Prisons," p 10.



which is marked over the cell-door, and on his clothes. This is his prison name, and his proper name is kept concealed. This rule prevents one convict from learning the name of another. The convicts on the ground-floor are allowed to walk one hour a-day, in a very small yard which is attached to each cell, and the hours are arranged so that no two contiguous yards are occupied at the same time. The cells on the upper floor do not admit of this exercise being enjoyed, but we were told that the inmates of them are equally healthy with those who inhabit the cells below. Divine service is performed on Sundays, by pastors who serve gratuitously. The chaplain takes his station at one end of a corridor, the prisoners approach their doors, open a small wicket in them, and listen. A curtain is let down in the centre of the corridor, to prevent the convicts from seeing each other across it. Religious books are supplied, but there is no library of miscellaneous publications.

The punishments inflicted for breach of discipline are deprivation of exercise, diminution of the quantity of food, and confinement in a dark cell. No flogging is allowed, and very little punishment of any kind is required. A Board of Inspectors, appointed by the legislature, exercises a general superintendence over the prison, and reports annually to the legislature. Their reports are accompanied by reports also from the warden and physician; the whole forming authentic and interesting records of the numbers and condition of the convicts, and of the effects of the Penitentiary System for each successive year.

I have perused the reports for the years 1832 and 1838, and all the intermediate years, and find the following topics touched on in them, worthy of general attention.

In all the reports, the complaint is repeated, of the want "of the services of an experienced, intelligent, and pious man, who shall be the instructor of the convicts, and visit them frequently in their cells, inculcating day by day the principles of temperance and religion." The inspectors "do most respectfully and urgently solicit the legislature to grant them authority to obtain the services of a moral and religious instructor at a compensation adequate to his labor." The moral and religious instruction hitherto communicated has been furnished gratuitously, and the imperfection of its supply is strongly felt.

No single circumstance in the history of Pennsylvania indicates the low state of general information among her people more strongly than the extraordinary fact here brought to light, that, after erecting this penitentiary at a vast expense, and providing it with all the physical requisites for accomplishing the objects for which it was instituted, the legislature continues insensible to every entreaty of its legal guardians, urged in the

most forcible language for six successive years, to be furnished with adequate means of moral and religious instruction for the prisoners. An enlightened people would as soon have built a palace without a roof, as have instituted a penitentiary (a house for moral reformation), without a moral and religious instructor! One such teacher is not sufficient. If the intention of improving the minds of the convicts be seriously entertained, labor must be bestowed in the cultivation of their moral and intellectual faculties proportionate to their ignorance and wickedness. If well constituted minds require extensive moral and religious training and instruction to preserve them in the paths of virtue, ill constituted minds need much more. Although we form the highest estimate of the quantity and quality of this instruction furnished to the convicts, by the excellent persons who labor in the penitentiary gratuitously, or who are rewarded by benevolent societies, the very fact that the legal inspectors proclaim it to be insufficient, leaves the legislature of Pennsylvania without excuse in denying a further supply. Whenever the philosophy of mind is generally understood, this penury of instruction will appear nearly incomprehensible. The philanthropists of Europe expect the American commonwealths to prove, by a liberal expenditure of public money for *moral* objects, the superiority (of which they so loudly boast) of a government emanating from, and responsible to, the people, over those which depend on the will of an individual or of a high-born aristocracy. A democracy which refuses moral and religious instruction to its convicts, apparently from no consideration except that of saving the expense, is a greater foe to freedom than the most ruthless despot of Europe. Such a democracy saps the faith of good men in human virtue; while the tyrant only stifles its outward manifestations, leaving the faith itself to burn the brighter the more he labors to extinguish it.

The warden, in his reports, specifies deficiency in education, as one common cause of crime, and remarks that the convicts in general do not possess the instruction given even in the common free schools of the state.

He repeats again and again, as the result of all his experience, that, "to communicate any material benefit to those who are brought here, their sentences should extend *to two years* or more."

The warden in his seventh report observes, "that a minute inspection of the character of the unhappy inmates of prisons has developed another interesting fact—that many more of them than was supposed are irresponsible beings," (p. 8). And the inspectors remark, that "there are no doubt *some criminals who are incorrigible.*" The effect of the Penitentiary discipline on

them does not generate vindictive feelings, but they leave the establishment with sentiments of regard rather than resentment, towards those who have attempted to alter their vicious habits. Phrenologists have long proclaimed, that the great cause of the incorrigibility of criminals is the excessive predominance of the organs of the animal propensities, over those of the moral and intellectual faculties, and that this class of persons is really composed of moral patients, who should be restrained, but not otherwise punished, during life. As Nature is constant in her operations, this truth will in time force itself on the conviction of society; and after injustice and severity shall have been perpetrated for ages, by the free and the fortunate towards the ill constituted and unhappy, a better system of treatment will probably be adopted. Why are the clergy, those guardians of the poor, and ministers of mercy, silent on this subject? Even those of them who are Phrenologists, and know the truth of what I now state, have not moral courage sufficient to lift their voices on behalf of these unfortunate beings.

The *health* of the prisoners is indicated by the following table:

| YEAR. | Average Number in Confinement. | Number of Deaths. | Mortality per cent. |
|-------|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1830, | 31                             | 1                 | 3.                  |
| 1831, | 67                             | 4                 | 6.                  |
| 1832, | 91                             | 4                 | 4.4                 |
| 1833, | 123                            | 1                 | .8                  |
| 1834, | 183                            | 5                 | 2.7                 |
| 1835, | 266                            | 7                 | 2.6                 |
| 1836, | 360                            | 12                | 3.3                 |
| 1837, | 387                            | 17                | 4.3                 |
|       |                                |                   | 8) 27.1             |
|       |                                |                   | 3.4                 |
|       |                                |                   | Average.            |

The reports state, that the deaths arise in some instances from incurable disease affecting the prisoners at their entry, and that the average is greatly augmented by the sickly inefficient condition of the colored prisoners, who, by self-abuse, become debilitated in mind and body, and diseased, and make up 3-5ths of the whole mortality.

A few convicts laboring under insanity at the time of condemnation, have been sent to the penitentiary, and the inspectors complain, that in one or two instances they have been convicted, in the full knowledge of their insanity, with a view to get quit of them as troublesome to the county! A committee of the legislature, in a report read in the senate on 14th February,

1837 states, that "no instance of insanity has, as yet, occurred in the eastern penitentiary, which has not been traced to causes wholly independent of, and either anterior or posterior to the confinement. Whatever might be the disturbing and stultifying effects of strict seclusion, without labor, without books, without moral instruction, and without daily intercourse with the keepers, certain it is, that with all these circumstances to relieve the distressing ennui, and the supposed maniacal effects, of absolute isolation, the inmates of our prisons are in no danger of aberration or alienation of mind from the cause supposed." (P. 4.) Again, "A comparison of the bills of mortality of the eastern penitentiary, with those of several other institutions, will show conclusively, that the unbroken solitude of the Pennsylvania discipline, does not injuriously affect the health of the convicts. At the eastern penitentiary, the deaths are two and five-tenths per cent. ;\* at the Sing Sing Prison four per cent. ; at Auburn, two per cent., and so on, settling the question beyond a possibility of doubt, that as great a measure of health is preserved in the Pennsylvania prisons, as in other similar institutions in the United States, or elsewhere."

In opposition to these statements, several severe attacks have been made on the eastern penitentiary system, as leading to excessive suffering, accompanied by loss of health and reason, on the part of the convicts, and the "Concise History," before referred to, contains strong assertions and some evidence in support of this unfavorable view. But, on the other hand, I found that several highly intelligent professional men in Philadelphia, with whom I conversed on the subject, and who had the means of judging, regarded the official reports as essentially correct and worthy of credit.

We visited a number of the male convicts who had been confined for periods ranging from seventeen months to eight years, and their appearance did not indicate either bad health or mental depression. We were introduced also into the cells of several female convicts, some of whom had ornamented the walls with pictures and needlework, giving to the apartments an appearance of tidiness and comfort that bespoke a healthy condition of mind in the inmates.

The food appears to be too rich and abundant for solitude, and several of the men had applied to be placed on a tea diet, consisting of tea and bread, which is allowed them when asked for. Secret vice abounds among the men, particularly the colored convicts, who have few mental resources; but one of

\* This statement is at variance with the results of the preceding table of mortality, and apparently refers to the mortality of the *white* convicts alone.

the white male prisoners had celebrated its pleasures and pains in an ode written with a pencil on the white-washed wall of his cell. In conversing with the prisoners, I found them seemingly resigned and cheerful; but I place little reliance on appearances presented to a casual visitor of a prison, especially when he is accompanied by an officer. He will be shown only the best cases, while the convicts will be agreeably excited by his visit and feel little disposition to complain to one who has no power to relieve them, and in presence of a person whose displeasure they dread, and against whom every complaint would be an accusation. At the same time justice requires me to state, that Mr. Wood offered to introduce us to any cells we chose to point out; and gave me the conviction that he had no secrets to conceal. His views of the criminal mind appeared to me to be sound and enlightened, and his principles of action at once just and humane.

In my work on Moral Philosophy, I have discussed the subject of the treatment of criminals, and at page 258 of the Edinburgh edition, have introduced some remarks on the system of solitude and labor, to which I beg leave to refer.

In regard to the effects of the discipline in the eastern penitentiary, I observe that the system of entire solitude, even when combined with labor, and the use of books, and an occasional visit from a religious instructor, leaves the moral faculties still in a passive state, and without the means of vigorous active exertion. According to my view of the laws of physiology, this discipline reduces the tone of the *whole* nervous system to the level which is in harmony with solitude. The passions are weakened and subdued, but so are all the moral and intellectual powers. The susceptibility of the nervous system is increased, because organs become susceptible of impressions, in proportion to their feebleness. A weak eye is pained by a degree of light which is agreeable to a sound one. Hence, it may be quite true, that religious admonitions will be more deeply felt by prisoners living in solitude, than by those enjoying society; just as such instruction, when addressed to a patient recovering from a severe and debilitating illness, makes a more vivid impression than when delivered to the same individual in health; but the appearances of reformation founded on such impressions are deceitful. When the sentence is expired, the convict will return to society, with all his mental powers, animal, moral, and intellectual, increased in *susceptibility*, but *lowered in strength*. The excitements that will then assail him, will have their influence doubled, by operating on an enfeebled system. If he meet old associates and return to drinking and profanity, the animal

propensities will be fearfully excited by the force of these stimulants, while his enfeebled moral and intellectual powers will scarcely be capable of offering any resistance. If he be placed amidst virtuous men, his higher faculties will feel acutely, but be still feeble in executing their own resolves. Convicts, after long confinement in solitude, shudder to encounter the turmoil of the world; they become excited as the day of liberation approaches, and feel bewildered when set at liberty. In short, this system is not founded on, nor in harmony with, a sound knowledge of the physiology of the brain, although it appeared to me to be well administered.

These views are supported by the "Report of Doctor James B. Coleman, physician to the New Jersey state prison (in which solitary confinement with labor is enforced), addressed to the board of inspectors, November 1859." The report states that, "among the prisoners there are many who exhibit a child-like simplicity, which shows them to be less acute than when they entered. In all who have been more than a year in prison, some of these effects have been observed. Continue the confinement for a longer time, and give them no other exercise of the mental faculties than this kind of imprisonment affords, and the most accomplished rogue will lose his capacity for depredating with success upon the community. The same influence that injures the other organs will soften the brain. Withhold its proper exercise, and as surely as the bandaged limb loses its power, will the prisoner's faculties be weakened by solitary confinement." He sums up the effect of the treatment in these words: "While it subdues the evil passions, almost paralysing them for want of exercise, it leaves the individual, if still a rogue, one who may be easily detected;" in other words, in reducing the energy of the organs of the propensities, it lowers also that of the organs of the moral and intellectual faculties, or causes the convict to approach more or less towards general idiocy." Dr. Coleman does not inform us whether the brain will not recover its vigor after liberation, and thus leave the offender as great a rogue after the close, as he was at the beginning, of his confinement.

The Auburn system of social labor is better, in my opinion, than that of Pennsylvania, in so far as it allows of a little more stimulus to the social faculties, and does not weaken the nervous system to so great an extent; but it has no superiority in regard to providing efficient means for invigorating and training the moral and intellectual faculties. The Pennsylvania system preserves the convict from contamination by evil communications with his fellow-prisoners, and prevents his associates from knowing the fact of his being in prison. These are advantages that

go so far to compensate the evils of solitude, but do not remove them.\*

In maintaining that some men are moral patients who should be restrained, but not otherwise punished, I have often been met by the objection, that this doctrine destroys human responsibility. My answer has been, first, that Phrenologists, in urging this view, desire only to extend the class of idiots and the insane, who are by universal consent absolved from responsibility; and, secondly, that men in general, while they reject as dangerous and untrue the proposition in the abstract, adopt it practically, and are unwittingly guilty of the most flagrant inconsistency and pernicious injustice.

I have asked these objectors, if they would receive into their families, as domestic servants, or into their employment in stores, convicts who had served out their time in state prisons, supposing them qualified by knowledge for the duties of these stations; and most of them have answered that they would not. On being asked why they would decline, they have generally replied that they had not sufficient confidence in their reformation. There is obviously great inconsistency in such conduct. If they believe that every individual has power to reform himself, and that the prison is wisely framed to effect this reform, it is cruel to assume that the individual in question is not reformed, and to exclude him from social comfort and honor on this assumption. The truth is, they *act* on the principle that some criminals are incorrigible, and that this may be one of the number: and therefore decline placing trust in any. Yet they blame us for teaching the same doctrine, and desiring to found on it a better practice.†

It is satisfactory to find that these views are supported by the experience of the inspectors and warden of the eastern penitentiary. They not only express a desire that the incorrigibles should be treated as patients, but strongly urge the necessity of an asylum for discharged convicts intermediate between the prison and common society. In their report for 1838, the inspectors remark, that "the situation and sufferings of discharged convicts have excited our attention and sympathy. We feel that we shall be excused in presenting the subject to the consideration of the legislature and our fellow-citizens generally. The small sum of money (\$5) allowed to a convict on his discharge is often expended whilst he is seeking for employment. But when that is gone, and no employment can be had, what hope is there that he will be able to struggle against poverty and maintain his virtue? This class of men, as well as a large por-

\* Moral Philosophy, p. 309.

† Ibid. p. 417.

tion of the laboring poor, need advice and assistance to help them along the rugged pathway of life." The warden, in his report for the same year, says, "The unwillingness manifested by most employers to take persons released from prison into their work-shops, makes it difficult for convicts to obtain good situations at any period of the year, but during the winter especially. Out-door work is scarce, and those discharged at this season often find themselves in so very destitute a situation, that we need not be surprised if they should sometimes be tempted to steal rather than starve. I believe much benefit would result from the courts either extending or diminishing in a slight degree the confinement, so as to make it terminate in either the spring, summer, or autumn."

The necessity for an asylum for convicts intermediate between the prison and society, while the present system of treatment is pursued, is obvious. Before a convict can be fitted to re-enter the social circles of his country with a fair prospect of continuing in the paths of virtue, the discipline which he has undergone must have invigorated and enlightened his moral and intellectual powers to such an extent, that he, when liberated, shall be able to restrain his own propensities, amidst the usual temptations presented by the social condition.

There is only one way of strengthening faculties, and that is by exercising them; and all the American prisons which I have seen are lamentably deficient in arrangements for exercising the moral and intellectual faculties of their inmates. During the hours of labor, no advance can be made, beyond learning a trade. This is a valuable addition to a convict's means of reformation; but it is not all-sufficient. After the hours of labor, he is locked up in solitude; and I doubt much if he can read, for want of light; but assuming that he can—reading is a very imperfect means of strengthening the moral powers. They must be exercised, trained, and habituated to action. My humble opinion is, that in prisons there should be a teacher of high moral and intellectual power, for every eight or ten convicts; that, after the close of labor, these instructors should commence a system of vigorous culture of the superior faculties of the prisoners, excite their moral and religious feelings, and instruct their understandings. In proportion as the prisoners give proofs of moral and intellectual advancement, they should be indulged with the liberty of social converse and action, for a certain time on each week-day, and on Sundays, in presence of the teachers; and in these *conversazioni*, or evening parties, they should be trained to the *use* of their higher powers, and habituated to restrain their propensities. Every indication of over-active propensity should be visited by a restriction of liberty and enjoy-



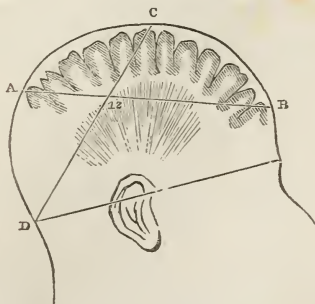
ment; while these advantages, and also respectful treatment, and moral consideration, should be increased in exact proportion to the advancement of the convicts in morality and understanding. By such means, if by any, the convicts would be prepared to enter society with their higher faculties so trained and invigorated, as to give them a chance of resisting temptation, and continuing in the paths of virtue.

In no country has the idea yet been carried into effect, that in order to produce moral fruits, it is necessary to put into action moral influences, great and powerful in proportion to the *barrenness* of the soil from which they are expected to spring.\*

The convicts whom I saw in this prison presented the usual deficiencies in the organs of the moral sentiments in relation to those of the animal propensities which distinguish criminals in general. One man, in whom the superior organs were very deficient, and Acquisitiveness, Secretiveness, and Destructiveness very large, with a good intellectual development, said, in answer to a question from me, that it would depend on circumstances whether he would steal again after he was liberated.

In the Appendix, No. VI, I insert "a Table of the Mental Disorders in the Eastern Penitentiary during 1839," by Dr. Darrach, physician to the institution.

Jan. 24. Therm. 15°. *Phrenology*.—Phrenologists estimate the size of the moral organs by the extent to which the brain rises above a plane passing through the centres of ossification of the frontal and parietal bones, the centres of Causality B, and Cautiousness 12. The correct measurement should be a plane passing through the upper edges of those two organs; but the centres are well marked points, while the upper edge is not so distinctly defined. The line AB in the wood-cut will show the direction of the former plane.



\* Moral Philosophy, p. 308.

This day Dr. Pancoast, at my request, was so obliging as to saw open the skull of a negro woman, aged about fifty, in the plane of A B, the centres of Causality and Cautiousness, and cut the brain, with an amputating knife, across in the same plane, without removing it from the skull, with a view to discover whether the bottom of the convolutions of the moral organs penetrated to that plane. Only a few of the largest did so. On cutting upwards, nearly half an inch of medullary matter was removed before the bottom of the convolutions C, forming the organs of Veneration and Hope, appeared. In repeating the experiment, the section should be made in a plane corresponding to the *top* of Causality and Cautiousness. The bottom of the coronal convolutions was found about the level of this plane.

We examined, in a prepared brain, the converging and diverging fibres described by Drs. Gall and Spurzheim. In several sections in the upper portion of the middle lobe, the diverging fibres were distinguishable, crossing the converging, and producing, when removed by the handle of the scalpel, a broken surface at the point where the crossing took place.

Jan. 26. Ther. 26°. *Asylum for the Blind*.—We visited this asylum, and found it a large, commodious, well-arranged institution, which receives an appropriation from the state. Dr. Friedlander, the superintendent, who is greatly esteemed, is at present in the south, on account of bad health. The pupils labor only three hours a-day, in brush, basket, mat, and shoe-making, needlework and knitting. They are taught the ordinary branches of school education. Their books, in raised characters, are printed in the establishment, and they use the common Roman capital type. I mentioned Dr. Howe's remarks on the facility with which the blind learn to read letters of a variety of forms, and the advantage of each institution printing separate books and interchanging; but I was told that the pupils here find a difficulty in reading any letters except those to which they have become accustomed. This seems to me to be an error founded on an assumption that such will be the case, rather than an experience that it is so. Farther, Dr. Howe's pupils increase the extent and variety of the exercise which they are enabled to take, by climbing up poles, jumping over beams, and performing other athletic feats. Here it is believed to be dangerous to the blind to do such acts, and the pupils always keep on the ground. It appears to me that Dr. Howe has a bold, active, enterprising mind, and that to a certain extent he impresses his own character on the minds of his pupils. He enlarges the practical boundaries of their capacities by encouraging them to believe in the greatness of their natural extent.

Jan. 26. Ther. 52°. *The Weather*.—Yesterday with even-

ing the wind changed to the southeast, and, a high temperature, it rained in torrents all night, and all this day till 4 P. M., when the wind suddenly veered round to the northwest, and blew a gale.\*

*Dr. Benjamin Rush.*—We met in society this evening Dr. Joseph Parrish, a distinguished and most amiable Quaker physician. He is attending my lectures, and informed me that forty years ago he was a pupil of Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, and recognised in phrenology the more complete development of many ideas which Dr. Rush had entertained. The same remark had occurred to myself on reading Dr. Rush's "Inquiry into the Influence of Physical Causes on the Moral Faculty," read by him before the American Philosophical Society on the 27th of February, 1786. That "oration," as it is called in the original, displays great powers of observation, and sagacity in deducing inferences, and approaches more nearly to Dr. Gall's discovery than any other work which I have seen.

*The Quakers.*—Philadelphia was founded by William Penn, who was at once a man of family, and a Quaker; a fortunate combination for the infant city. In the choice of the situation, the plan of the city, the names of the streets, and in many of his regulations, there are proofs of his cultivated taste; while the uprightness and simplicity of the Quaker principles, which he and his followers established, strongly and favorably influence society here even in the present day. About eleven years ago, a large section of the Quakers of Pennsylvania became Unitarians, under the influence of Elias Hicks. Some of these, while they have preserved their connection with the sect, have abandoned the costume; while others have left the Society of Friends entirely. The original Quakers, who have not changed their opinions, are called "the orthodox" friends. In Pennsylvania, the Hicksite Quakers amount to about 15,000, and the orthodox to about 8000. In the United States, the total number of Hicksite Quakers is about 30,000, and of the orthodox 100,000. Of these latter, one half are residents of the states of Indiana and Illinois.

A man who has produced so great a revolution in the religious tenets of a powerful sect, is an interesting object of observation. A friend kindly presented me with a small engraved portrait of him, which indicates a large development of the moral and intellectual organs; large Firmness, and a high bilious and nervous temperament, the combination usually found in ener-

\* In September, 1840, in Edinburgh, I heard Mr. Espy describe this storm. His facts corresponded with the statement in the text, which was written at the time when the storm occurred, and in ignorance of his views; and his theory appeared to me to account satisfactorily for the phenomena.

getic reformers. The base of the brain also seems to have been well developed, but it is more difficult to judge of its size in a picture. The following "Remarks on the character of the late Elias Hicks," were extracted, by the same friend, from several biographical sketches of him:—

"Elias Hicks was born in Long Island in 1748, and died in 1830. When about twenty years of age he embraced the principles of the Society of Friends, in due time became a minister, and for more than fifty years he labored with unwearied diligence for the instruction and benefit of his fellow-men. He travelled through almost every state in the Union, as well as into Canada several times; scrupulously avoiding any gratuity or reward for his multiplied and protracted labors. The testimonies which his Society held before the world, he bore patiently and fearlessly, urging them on the consciences of his hearers, in a manner which did not permit them to be indifferent, and with a zeal which demanded and secured the attention of those whom he addressed. Large numbers listened and crowded around him to hear the joyful tidings which he had to bear. He was at all times the friend of freedom of conscience, thought, and action, and the able and unceasing advocate of human rights. The African and Indian were never forgotten by him, but were embraced within the circle of his benevolence. He was in early life deeply impressed with the injustice and cruelty of keeping slaves, and was among the first who brought the subject frequently and forcibly before the members of his religious society. It was some time before his friends could unite with him, but where principle was involved, his perseverance was unabating, and his resolution immoveable.

"He was a man, in the language of Scripture, 'instant in season and out of season' to do good to his fellow-beings. He was truly a peace-maker; in all his relations in life kind and affectionate; and his manners were peculiarly distinguished by a patriarchal simplicity, and unaffected goodness. Hence it was not unfrequently the case, that persons who, from false reports, had contracted strong prejudices against him, have been completely disarmed by a short interview.

"The strong and abiding sense of justice and equality which marked his intercourse with his fellow-men, was exemplified in relation to a circumstance which took place when he was absent from home. A person to whom he had lent money to assist him in business, had been unsuccessful, and in closing his concerns he secured to Elias Hicks a sufficient amount of his property to indemnify him for the sum lent. On his return he called together the creditors, stated to them his unwillingness to retain the amount wholly to himself, and gave directions that it should be

divided among them all, in proportion to the sums respectively due to each person. It was upon these principles that he regulated his conduct throughout his long and valuable life. His kind and benevolent feelings carried him out towards every species of human suffering, and led him to be kind and liberal in supplying the necessities of the poor. He labored diligently with his own hands, believing it to be the duty of all to be usefully employed in obtaining the necessaries of life.

“In declaring what he believed to be the counsel of God, he was bold and fearless. Possessing an acute and argumentative mind, he assailed the strong-holds of superstition and bigotry with great boldness, which alarmed the timid, and aroused the prejudices of many. Yet to the candid inquirer, and sincere seeker after truth, he breathed the language of encouragement, of consolation, and of comfort. His great and primary concern was, to draw the minds of the people to practical righteousness—from all outward dependence, to the sure foundation, the Rock of Ages, the spirit of truth—‘Christ within, the hope of glory.’ He was an example of Christian humility, and eminently preserved from being elated by the applause of men, or depressed by their censure. He impressed upon the minds of the young the importance and necessity of early attention to the inward discoveries of divine light, cautioning them not to rest in the tradition of their fathers, nor to depend upon the teachings of men for that knowledge which brings life and immortality to life in the soul.

“In times of great trial during the division and separation in the Society of which he was a member, he experienced the truth of the declaration, ‘Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee.’”\*

\* While this work is in the press, Mr. James Mott, and his wife, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, two of the Society of Friends of Philadelphia, who have adopted the views of Elias Hicks, visited Scotland, and were invited to attend the annual meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, on the 1st of August, 1840. I became acquainted with them in Philadelphia, and I regard both as among the most estimable persons whom I have met with in any country. Dr. Channing, in his letter to the Honorable Jonathan Phillips, when adverting to the burning by a mob of the Pennsylvania Hall in that city, writes—“In that crowd was Lucretia Mott, that beautiful example of womanhood. Who that has heard the tones of her voice, and looked on the mild radiance of her benignant and intelligent countenance, can endure the thought, that such a woman was driven by a mob, from a spot to which she had gone, as she religiously believed, on a mission of Christian sympathy.” This description falls short of the truth. To the soft delicacy of a refined and accomplished woman, Lucretia Mott adds the clear and forcible intellect of a philosopher. The meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society was held in the chapel of the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, and the directors of the Society were Orthodox Quakers, and other persons of

*The Inward Light.*—It is a fundamental doctrine with the Society of Friends, that *every* man has received an inward light sufficient to guide him in the discharge of his duty, if he consult it in a right spirit.\* My Quaker friends discussed the bearing of Phrenology on this doctrine with great acuteness and candor. I

similar principles. No places on the platform were appointed for Mr. and Mrs. Mott. No invitation was given to them to address the assembly. "The American friends," says the Christian Pioneer, "bore about them the taint of heresy. This was sufficient to warrant neglect and insult to individuals who had perilled property and life in vindication of the rights of humanity. Dr. Wardlaw, in the face of the assembly, could shake hands with a colored American as a friend and brother; but averted looks were deemed the proper reception for those who dared to think for themselves in theology. Nay, even George Thomson, the declaimer against American slavery, who had received the hospitalities of these true friends of universal humanity, stood by; and no sound was heard to issue from his lips against this desecration of courtesy and Christian justice." On Sunday evening, 9th August, Mr. Mott delivered an Address in the Rev. Mr. Harris's Chapel, in Glasgow, in which he stated who they were, their object in visiting this country (to attend the great Anti-Slavery meeting held in London, in June 1840), their differences in religious views from the Society of Friends in Britain; and he read, in corroboration of his statements, certificates from the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, and of Abolition Societies. Mrs. Mott then spoke for nearly two hours, and held a delighted audience in breathless attention. In the course of the following week, a letter, subscribed by Wm. Smeal, William White, John Maxwell, James Smeal, and Edward White," appeared in the Glasgow newspapers, informing the public, "on behalf of the Society of Friends residing in Glasgow, that we hold no religious fellowship with Lucretia Mott, nor with the body in the United States (called Hicksites) to which she belongs," &c. This is true, but Mr. Mott had stated the fact to be so at the meeting, and this appeal to the public was therefore another deliberate insult. The object of the meeting in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel was the promotion of the cause of "Emancipation," and it had no necessary connection with any religious opinions, except those of practical Christianity in which all sects are agreed. The spirit, therefore, which excluded Mr. and Mrs. Mott on account of their religious opinions, was one of hatred and persecution. When I recall the liberal cordiality with which my Lectures on Phrenology were received in Philadelphia by the Friends of both persuasions, the Orthodox as well as the Hicksites, and the hospitable attentions which I received from *both*, and contrast it with the treatment which Mr. and Mrs. Mott have met with in Scotland, I blush for the intolerance of my country. These proceedings certainly show, that the directors of "the Glasgow Emancipation Society" stand in "need of emancipation from more degrading fetters than those even of which they profess the desire to free the negro."

\* They affirm that "God hath given to every man a measure of the light of his own Son (John i, 9), and that God, by this light, invites, calls, and strives with every man, in order to serve him; which, as it is received, works the salvation of all, even of those who are ignorant of the death of Christ, and of Adam's fall; but that this light may be resisted; in which case God is said to be resisted and rejected, and Christ to be again crucified; and to those who thus resist and refuse him, he becomes their condemnation.—*A Dictionary of all Religions*, by Hannah Adams. p. 88.

hazarded the explanation, that the inward light which they spoke of, if it be regarded as natural, probably consisted of the spontaneous dictates of the moral sentiments, which condemn all abuses of the propensities; that apparently George Fox, the founder of their sect, had enjoyed a large development of the organ of these sentiments, particularly of Conscientiousness and Benevolence, and that, judging from his own feelings, and assuming all men to be constituted like himself, he had interpreted certain passages of Scripture in accordance with his individual experience, and thus arrived at the doctrine of the sufficiency of the inward light as universal, while Phrenology showed that it was limited to men possessing the best constituted brains. This view was new to the Friends; but they told me that it seemed to throw some light on several anomalies which had long remained inexplicable. Some of their body had such a clear and forcible consciousness of the existence of the inward light, that they could not conceive how any person of a sane mind, whether of their society or not, could doubt its existence; while others of their own sect, and numerous individuals who did not belong to them, either doubted the reality of the perception of that light, or regarded it as altogether a phantom of imagination. Phrenology leads us to infer, that the believers in the light probably possess large, and the unbelievers small, organs of the moral sentiments, and that hence they really differ in their inward experience, and err in assuming their own consciousness as a standard of universal human nature. I expressed the opinion, that individuals who are very deficient in the moral organs, do not possess the inward light sufficiently clear and strong to serve as a guide to their conduct, and that hence arose the need of specific precepts, such as are contained in the Scriptures, commending certain acts, and prohibiting others; and that Phrenology will one day prove useful to all sects in leading them to correct their doctrines, and to bring them into harmony with universal human nature, instead of limiting them to cases of particularly constituted minds.

Jan. 27. Ther. 30°. The wind still blows strongly from the northwest, with frost.

*Catholicism in the United States.*—We attended divine service to-day in the Roman Catholic church (St. John's) in Thirteenth street, and found a large and genteel-looking congregation, with all the usual ceremonials of catholicism. We were told that the catholics here are chiefly foreigners, who bring their religion with them; and that they are an inoffensive sect in the United States. The free institutions of the country modify the spirit of their religion, and they are good citizens and estimable neighbors. I mentioned to a Protestant gentleman, whom I afterwards met in society, the great difficulty which I

experienced in attaching any meaning to the ringing of bells, burning of candles, and other ceremonies of the catholic worship, and he told me that his impressions were very different. His father (a protestant) had sent him, when a boy, to a Roman Catholic monastery in Canada for the sake of giving him a thorough education in the French language; the priests initiated him into the meaning of their ceremonies, and employed him as one of the bell-ringing and train-bearing boys, who serve at the altar; and so profound an impression of the sanctity and solemnity of the worship had been made on his mind, that he could not, to the present day, enter a Roman Catholic chapel without vivid emotions of veneration, with which his judgment did not harmonise, for he had not been converted to their faith. From this, we may infer that to catholics these ceremonies are by no means unmeaning mummeries, as we protestants are too prone to imagine them to be.

*Legislature of Pennsylvania.*—Every one acquainted with the machinery of the British Parliament knows that for many years nothing could exceed the profligate dereliction of all principle which characterised the action of the committees of the House of Commons on private bills. The majority of the members of these committees often disposed of the most momentous interests of their constituents without hearing a word of the evidence on which their decisions were supposed to be founded. Their votes, governed by motives of private interest, or of political favor or hostility, were secured by solicitation and influence; and, in short, they were moved by every consideration except those of utility and justice. Even in the present day, when some of these more flagrant abuses have been extinguished, the individual whose rights and interests are in dependence before a parliamentary committee, finds himself degraded into a petitioner for favor, instead of a solicitor for justice. He is still under the necessity of plying the members of the committee with every possible external influence to induce them to attend in their places, that they may hear the evidence, and understand the arguments, which he considers it necessary to present to them, often at a ruinous expense, to enable them to judge of the merits of the measure on which they are bound to report with the impartiality of judges.

I was anxious to learn whether any similar evil exists under the democratic institutions of the United States, in which the elections are frequent, the suffrage nearly universal, and the responsibility of the representatives to the people complete.

A gentleman who has been a member of the senate of Pennsylvania informed me, that the same mischievous machinery is at work in their legislature. There is extensive jobbing and



treating relative to private bills, or bills for the establishment of public companies. The parties who apply for the bill, or their agents, come to Harrisburg while the legislature is in session, and, under pretence of explaining the subject to the members, flatter them, give them suppers, and open their understandings by means of plentiful libations of wine. Many of the representatives are men from country districts, of little education, and humble fortune, but of unquestionable integrity, who would reject with indignation a money bribe, but who unconsciously fall before personal flatteries and champagne. The technical name for these practices is "lobbying."

In the legislature of New York, some years ago, "lobbying" was reduced to a system. The agents for the various private bills concerted their measures together, and made up lists of all the members of the legislature, specifying those whom they could influence absolutely, those whom they could probably carry, and those (a very small remnant) who were altogether independent; and, after "the order of the day," or list of business before the chambers, was published, they met in a tavern, and took the "yeas and nays" on every bill in which they were interested, either *pro* or *con*. The first bill, for instance, was named; (probably one for a charter to a bank;) the roll of the representatives was then called, and the different agents answered "yea" or "nay" for the members respectively whose votes they could command. When this was finished, the independent members were disturbed according to the best estimate which the agents could form of their probable course of action; the balance was then struck, and the announcement regularly made, the "yeas" or the "nays" have it. So complete was this machinery, and so perfect the sagacity with which the opinions of the independent members were guessed at, that the decisions of the chambers became ludicrous echoes of those of the "lobby!" At last a check was given to the practice, but much of it still exists; and it will exist until a higher education of the people shall raise the standard of their moral and intellectual perceptions. As a stream cannot rise higher than its fountain, so, in social life, if the public mind be blind and selfish, the representatives of that mind will never rise into the regions of truth and justice.

It is a common opinion, that if the suffrage for legislators be universal, and elections be frequent, a due regard to their own interests will lead the people to choose wise representatives, and the representatives to adopt just and beneficial measures; but this is an error. Phrenology shows us that self-interest depends on the animal propensities, and that every one of them is merely a blind impulsive power, which desires its own gratification, but which needs to be illuminated by knowledge, and guided by

morality, before it can successfully attain its own objects. The organs of the propensities are generally the largest and most active in the brain; and most of us, therefore, are by nature abundantly selfish; but we are not equally clear-sighted in regard to the best means of promoting our own interests. Indeed self-interest more frequently defeats than accomplishes its own objects, through ignorance of the obstacles that lie in its way, and of the means which nature has appointed as indispensable to its own gratification. Every legislature, therefore, which is founded on the maxim that self-interest will discover the best means of attaining its own ends, and that where all are represented it will necessarily lead to the general good, rests on a bed of sand. In the conflict of selfish desires of equal force, justice may be reached as the only point at which adjustment will be possible, as objects propelled in opposite directions by equal forces fall into diagonal lines, and meet in a central point; but this is a dangerous, circuitous, and uncertain method of attaining to truth. The moral sentiments alone desire universal happiness, and intellect, extensively informed and highly cultivated, is necessary to discover the means of realising their desires. High moral, religious, and intellectual training, therefore, in the people at large, and nothing else, will produce pure and wise legislation. The most consolatory view of the present condition of the people of the United States is, that their institutions give such unlimited play to the selfish principles of their nature, that, by their very blunders and sufferings, (which are neither few nor small,) they will be forced into the discovery of the incapacity of self-interest to find its own way to happiness, and be led, by the very necessity of their circumstances, to call in the aid of morality and knowledge—in other words, to increase and improve the moral, religious, and intellectual cultivation of their rising generations.

*Phrenology.*—One-third at least of my auditors, now exceeding 500 persons, belong to the Society of Friends, including both Orthodox and Hicksites, and they tell me that Friend John Joseph Gurney, who has recently come to the United States on a mission of charity and religion, is warning his friends, and the circle which he influences, against Phrenology, as a dangerous doctrine, and one to be shunned by sound believers. As they have now heard a pretty full exposition of it, they take the liberty to judge for themselves, and I do not find that their fears keep pace with those of Mr. Gurney. In answer to the question, whether Mr. Gurney meant to affirm that it is dangerous to religion to teach the true functions of the brain, or only that Phrenology is false, and therefore dangerous?—my friends replied, that, so far as they could learn, he knew little about the subject, and appeared to condemn it on vague impressions existing in his own

mind, rather than on any specific information concerning its merits.

Jan. 29. Therm. 30°. *Mr. Du Ponceau, Baron Hammer, and Captain Basil Hall.*—This day I met Mr. Du Ponceau in society, and he asked me about the accentuation of the Gaelic, which he reads, but has never heard spoken. Unfortunately, I could give him no information on the subject. He came to the United States from France in 1775, and has realised a fortune in the law, chiefly as a notary. He is highly celebrated as a philologist. He corresponds with Baron Hammer of Vienna, and mentioned that he had translated and published the Baron's Letter in answer to Captain Basil Hall's statements in his work called *Schloss Hainfeld*. The Baron had written to him that he could not induce any periodical in England to publish it. He was much interested when I told him that I had formed an acquaintance with Baron Hammer, now Baron Hammer Purgstall, when I visited Vienna in 1837, and had received from him a copy of the Letter in question, printed in "the *New York American*" of 6th Dec. 1836; and that I had subsequently succeeded in getting it inserted in a London newspaper. This led to an interesting conversation concerning Captain Hall and *Schloss Hainfeld*, when I mentioned to him that Baron Hammer had requested me to peruse several original letters written by the Countess of Purgstall to him, all in English, in which she expressed herself in the most kind and confidential terms towards him. I had read also a letter from the Countess Rzewnska to him, which showed that Captain Hall received his invitation to *Schloss Hainfeld* through him, communicated to the captain by the Countess Rzewnska, and afterwards confirmed by the Countess Purgstall herself. Baron Hammer's interposition is not mentioned in the work. In one of the Countess Purgstall's letters to the Baron, she mentions that Captain Hall had not brought much information that interested her: that she found him given up to admiration of the Duke of Wellington, and that his high Toryism annoyed her, all her sympathies being with the Whigs. In another letter, she tells Baron Hammer that, on reflection, she is satisfied that she acted wisely in refusing to subscribe a letter which Captain Hall had drawn up and pressed her to sign, expressive of sentiments which she did not entertain towards her sister Mrs. Dugald Stewart. In another letter, she confides her most private wishes, and expresses the greatest gratitude, to Baron Hammer. She likewise tells the Baron that Captain Hall is obviously writing a journal in her house, but that he never informs her what he is inserting in it. The Countess had informed him also that Captain Hall frequently spent only the hour after dinner in her

society, and did not even send to ask how she had passed the night. The Baron remarked that Captain Hall took Schloss Hainfeld for "his own man-of-war," and ordered every thing for himself as if he had been owner. After the Countess's death, the Baron succeeded to the property, and he invited the Captain and his family to continue in the castle as his guests until they found it convenient to return to England. He detailed a series of incidents that occurred after this invitation, that are better buried in oblivion, and which I forbear to specify: but they conveyed to me a strong impression of the indiscretion of Captain Hall's publication, and of the injustice done to Baron Hammer in his work. The Baron has placed several of the Countess's letters to him, which throw light on Captain Hall's statements, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, where they are open to the inspection of every one who desires to peruse them. He made these communications to me with a request that I should publish them, as he considered himself injured and ungratefully treated by Captain Hall. I should have had great hesitation in doing so, had not Captain Hall, in the work complained of, converted the incidents of the private life of a lady, into whose house he was received in the confidential characters of a friend and a guest, into the materials of a romance, and by the incorrectness of his statements, done injury both to the living and the dead. Captain Hall is a man of great talents, but his hostility to the Americans, and the inaccuracies of his statements in regard to them, are loudly complained of by the most respectable men in the city of Philadelphia.

*Common Schools.*—I visited a common school in the city, and found the system to be similar to that pursued in Boston and New York. The master of a primary school must be capable of teaching "orthography, reading, grammar, geography, history, writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping;" and, where a majority of the parents of the children attending the school require it, he must also teach German. The teachers are appointed, after examination, by the board of directors of common schools, and may, at the end of any month, be dismissed for "incompetency, neglect of duty, cruelty, or immoral conduct." No teacher is allowed to receive "any compensation from parents or guardians in addition to that paid by the district." The *tenth* head of the "Regulations for common school districts," is in these words, and it is here printed in the same types as in the original:—1st, THE RELIGIOUS PREDILECTIONS OF PUPILS AND THEIR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS SHALL BE SACREDLY RESPECTED. 2d. No *catechism, creed, confession, or manual of faith*, shall be used as a school-book, nor admitted into the school; sectarian instruction not being the province of the school-master, but of

the parent or guardian, and the spiritual instructor selected by him."

The teacher is required to "pay most especial regard to the morals, habits, and general behavior, as well as to the mental instruction of his pupils. The punishments to be inflicted by the teacher, shall be, 1st, Reading aloud the rule violated. 2d, Insertion of the offender's name under the head of 'bad conduct,' in the monitor's book. 3d, Private and public admonition. 4th, Detention after school hours. 5th, Special reports or complaints to parents or guardians. 6th, *The rod*. The rod shall be applied, whenever, in the teacher's judgment, it shall be necessary; when used, it shall be inflicted with certainty and effect; but passion or cruelty in its application shall be avoided. The hours of instruction shall be from 8 to 12 in the forenoon, and from 2 till 5 in the afternoon, and from the 1st of April till the 1st of October; and from 9 till 12, and 1 till 4, during the rest of the year."

"The Old and New Testaments, containing the best extant code of morality, in simple, beautiful, and pure language, shall be used as a school book for reading, without comment by the teacher, but not as a text-book for religious instruction."

*The Monitors in Schools.*—The regulations provide for the appointment of monitors, who shall be members of the highest classes, and whose duty shall be to enter in a book the offences of which the scholars shall be guilty; but I was informed that the employment of monitors has been abandoned in all the common schools in Philadelphia, and that each school is now under the charge of a male and two female teachers; the females having a salary of \$200 each. This arrangement is new in the boys' schools, and one of the directors mentioned that it has been found to answer well. The young women treat the boys with a kindly interest, obviously influenced by sex, and the feeling is reciprocal. The boys, when studying under the young women, are more gentle and refined in their manners than when taught by male teachers, and they perform their tasks more obviously from a desire to please. This is as it should be. There is nothing necessarily indelicate or improper in the feelings of the sexes towards each other. Indeed, I have heard ladies of the strictest principles and the most refined delicacy, acknowledge that they were conscious of receiving an additional stimulus to exertion from the influence of a teacher of the opposite sex. There is no reason why this excellent ordination of Nature should not be employed to promote the training and instruction of the youthful mind.

The High School of Philadelphia is now forming under the charge of Mr. John Frost and Mr. Wines. I had read an excel-

lent abridgement of the History of the United States, by "John Frost," reprinted in London, but imagined that this was a mere *nom de guerre*. It gave me pleasure to meet with the real author, and to find him an accomplished teacher instead of a shadow. Mr. Wines also has written two valuable works on education.

*Phrenology.*—I was taken, by a medical friend, several miles out of town, to visit a boy of seven or eight years of age, who, in July last, had received a kick from a horse in the region of the organ of Time (above the centre of the eye-brow) on the right side. It had completely driven in a portion of the skull an inch in length, and half an inch in breadth, and the fragment of bone must have rested on the superorbital plate. The convolution constituting the surface of the organ of Time must have been injured, with parts of the organs of Tune and Eventuality, and probably also the organs of Coloring, Order, and Weight. All the organs on the left side were untouched. The integuments had completely reunited over the wound, but the skull was not restored. When the boy walked smartly, the pulsation of the brain was distinctly seen. The boy had been kept quiet in the house, without bodily or mental labor, ever since the accident; and he appeared to be intelligent and healthy when I saw him. It will not be until he shall have been exposed to intellectual efforts and anxiety, that it will be seen whether his faculties have suffered by the injury; or whether the brain has been restored. The practitioner first called in after the accident, had sewed up the integuments and left the bones sticking in the brain, and the arteries bleeding into it, and the boy was quite insensible when visited by my friend from Philadelphia. Owing to the imperfect education of many of the medical men in the United States, such instances of mistake are not uncommon in the rural districts.

Jan. 30. Ther. 40°. *The Judges.*—Under the former constitution of Pennsylvania, the judges held office for life, but under the recent amendment, which came into operation on the 1st of January current (1839), they are henceforth to receive appointments for ten years only. The reason assigned for the change is, that, under their life tenures, they were indolent in their proper spheres, but became active as political partisans. It is feared that under the new system, they will make the law bend to popular sentiments; so that there appears to many persons to be only a choice between two evils. The salary of the Chief Justice of the supreme court is only \$2666 67 cents a year, a sum so small that a trader in moderate business, will regard it as an unproductive year when he does not realise as much. Each associate justice of the supreme court receives \$2000 per annum. I record these statements as they were made to me;

but I must add, that I have met with several of the judges, and they appeared to me be strong minded able men, possessed of extensive information.

*Practical Phrenology.*—My class met this day at eleven, and remained till past three o'clock engaged in the examination of skulls and casts. About two hundred ladies and gentlemen attended.

Feb. 1. Ther. 40°. *The Alms-House.*—We visited this institution, which is situated on rising ground lying on the right bank of the Schuylkill, a little below the city. "The main buildings, which are four in number, are arranged in the form of a parallelogram, and cover and enclose an area of about ten acres." It has a handsome architectural front, which appears to great advantage when viewed from the city. The entire building cost above one million of dollars, and it is altogether so magnificent in reference to its objects, that it has been not unaptly denominated "the Pauper Palace." It includes a pauper lunatic asylum and an hospital for the sick. It was erected and is supported by assessments on the city and liberties. Its fame stands so high, and has extended so widely, as affording comfortable quarters for the destitute, that some of them have been known to walk two hundred and fifty miles to reach it. Although only the poor of the city and suburbs have a legal right to enter it, these distant strangers throw themselves down at the door during the night, and refuse to rise or go away, stating their resolution to make good their quarters after such a toilsome march. It contains at present about 1800 inmates.

I was surprised equally at the magnificence and extent of the building, and at the number of paupers, in a city of only 200,000 inhabitants, situated in a young, fertile, and prosperous country where labor is greatly in demand, and highly remunerated; but I was assured that three-fourths of the inmates are foreigners who are cast forth from all the countries of Europe, and fall as a burden on the United States.\* This is probably too true; because, in general, only those individuals who find a difficulty in providing for themselves at home emigrate; and hence many of the foreigners landed in America are feeble in mind, dissipated, or reckless persons, whom their friends in Europe have shipped off

\* The number of paupers I find is really small when contrasted with that of Edinburgh, a city without manufactures or any other great source of pauperism. On the 1st of October 1840, Mr. Small, Treasurer to the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse, reported the number of persons receiving permanent support from that institution to be 3500; besides 400 supplied with temporary aid. The population is under 100,000, as the poor of the parish of St. Cuthbert's, as well as those of the Canongate, are separately provided for. These two parishes nearly surround the ancient city, and St. Cuthbert's includes many new streets and populous suburbs.

to rid themselves from the burden of their maintenance. One of the directors of the Alms-house, mentioned to me that the managers for the poor of St. Cuthbert's parish in Edinburgh, had actually shipped off a body of paupers and landed them very recently at New York, two of whom are said to be idiots.\*

The Alms-house has a medical and surgical hospital attached to it, where clinical lectures are delivered twice a week. It is unfortunately two miles from the city, and in consequence the students do not see the regular course of clinical treatment; but only hear it described on lecture or visiting days.

The whole establishment is kept clean to the eye, but the nose and lungs detect imperfect ventilation, particularly in the departments for the children; who are afflicted with ophthalmia, languid looks, and other indications of a low condition of the corporeal system. It is extremely difficult to induce paupers voluntarily to admit fresh air into their apartments, except in very warm weather, and in building an alms-house, adequate means for involuntary ventilation as well as warmth should be provided. I was glad to observe that pictures, objects, and apparatus, are supplied for teaching the children; an advantage not enjoyed in many of the city schools.

*Sorcery.*—The following advertisement appeared in the "Public Ledger" newspaper a few days ago. "A Card. Madam Dusar, thankful for past favors, respectfully informs the ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia, that her residence is No. 6 Watson's alley, *Locust, 1st alley below Tenth*, where she will be happy to solve all questions relating to dreams, marriages, journeys, losses, gains, and all other lawful business, sickness, death, &c., j. 30. 3 t." The small letters at the end mean "January 30, three times;" and we may presume that Madame Dusar meets with customers who indemnify her for the expenses of advertising, and leave her besides a suitable remuneration for her skill and trouble. There are ignorant and su-

\* I expressed my astonishment at this statement and disbelief in its accuracy, and afterwards ascertained that it is essentially incorrect. A Mr. Johnston came to Edinburgh, and engaged a number of the younger inmates of St. Cuthbert's Charity Workhouse to go with him, as indented servants, to his farm in Canada. He entered into a legal bond to the managers to carry them to that country, to provide for them, and remunerate them suitably for their labor. He proceeded with them to New York, but there his means failed him, he was imprisoned for non-payment of the "head-money," a tax exigible by law on emigrants, and they were left destitute. The newspapers in New York represented the matter as if the paupers had been deliberately shipped off by the managers of St. Cuthbert's parish, in order to relieve themselves from the expense of maintaining them, and to impose them as a burden on the United States; but this was not their intention.



perstitious individuals in all countries; but the circumstance which gives this announcement interest in my estimation is, that the male customers above twenty-one years of age of this lady have votes for the civic rulers of Pennsylvania, and may exercise an influence on its banks, public works, credit, and general prosperity. It would certainly be desirable to bring this profession to a close by a higher and more general education of the people. I have been informed (but perhaps the story is an old "Joe Miller") that within four or five years from the present time, the cashier of a bank in Philadelphia applied to one of these ladies to learn who had committed a robbery on the bank, and that she directed him to a certain house, in the garret of which he would find an old chest, and in the chest the lost money. He found the house, the garret, and the chest, but no money. The sorceress had sent him thither to annoy a family whom she disliked!

Feb. 3. Ther. 26°. *The Free Negroes.*—Our apartments at the Marshall House are under the charge of a colored man, who, although a complete negro, has a brain that would do no discredit to an European. It is of a full size; the moral and intellectual regions are well developed; and his manner of thinking, speaking, and acting, indicates respectfulness, faithfulness, and reflection. He was originally a slave, and purchased his own freedom. His wife also is of pure African blood, and his children of course the same. One of his sons named "Rob Roy," (what would Helen Macgregor have thought of her husband's name-sake?) was extremely desirous to hear some of my lectures, and his father asked if he might be permitted to go into the room. No objection existed on my part to lecture to an audience of any color, if they were intelligent and attentive; but Americans feel differently. I consulted some liberal friends as to what could be done without giving offence, and it was arranged that, after the audience was assembled, Rob Roy should enter and stand near the door, at the back of all the seats, and thus pass for a servant in waiting. He followed this plan, and no notice was taken of his presence. I have not introduced the question of abolition into my lectures, because it is foreign to their object. So far, however, as the subject lay incidentally in my way, I have not shrunk from it, but have introduced the skulls and casts of negroes among those of other varieties of mankind, and freely expressed my opinion of the moral and intellectual capabilities indicated by their forms.

*Quaker Preaching.*—We attended the meeting-house of the Hicksite Quakers this day. The women were seated at one end, and the men at the other. One male Friend spoke, and afterwards Mrs. Lucretia Mott delivered an excellent address.

We had previously formed the acquaintance of this lady, and of her husband Mr. James Mott, and observed that in private society she manifests the power of intellect of a philosopher combined with feminine refinement and delicacy. In delivering her address, her manner of speaking was so clear, yet so soft and touching, and the matter of it was so full of wisdom and goodness, that it drew tears from the eyes of C——, and intensely rivetted my attention.

Feb. 4. Ther. 33°. *William Penn.*—We visited the Pennsylvania Hospital in Pine street. It is a medical and surgical hospital and a lunatic asylum in the heart of the city, surrounded by ample grounds and stately trees. In front there is a well executed bronze statue of William Penn, standing in full Quaker costume, hat and all, with the charter of Pennsylvania, granted by Charles II, in 1681, in his hand. From the top of the dome, an extensive view is enjoyed, and an emotion of astonishment presses on the mind, that this large, rich, regular, beautiful, and enlightened city, should all have grown up from an absolute wilderness since 1681, and that Penn should have had the vigor and sagacity of mind to look forward to its increase with the eye and hope of a prophet; and should at that time have laid it out in streets, and squares, and ways, almost exactly as it now appears, with so much to approve of, and so little to amend.

*Phrenology in Baltimore.*—After repeated advertisements in the Baltimore newspapers, requesting those citizens who desired that I should lecture there, to enter their names at a bookstore, twenty-six individuals have appeared, and this success has been reported to me. As the number which I require is 150, I have declined to lecture in that city. I have been solicited to repeat my course in Philadelphia, and offered to do so, if 200 subscribers appear for a second course.

*Loss of the Use of Words, &c.*—Dr. Parrish, Jun. called and introduced a man of slender stature, bilious and nervous temperament, retreating forehead, and prominent eyes, a policeman, about thirty-eight or forty years of age, who, after sleeping in a very cold bed in December last, at Harrisburg, (whither he had been conveyed as a soldier to suppress the riot,) had felt some uneasy sensation in his head, and then discovered that he had lost the use of words. Although he understood language, and could articulate, he could not find words with which to express his own ideas. He saw distance erroneously: a house distant one street, appeared distant a mile or a mile and a half; he lost the perception of numbers also, and could not reckon. He felt no pain in any particular part of the head. He gradually recovered the use of the lost faculties, but even now he cannot use numbers readily: he calls numbers "times." In endeavoring

to name dates, he says it was "last time," or "a time before that." The lower part of the anterior lobe is narrow, and projects considerably. If one may hazard a conjecture, I should say that the intense cold had produced congestion of some of the intellectual organs; those most affected being the organs of Language, Size, and Number; the other intellectual faculties were unimpaired. The cause of these affections is obscure; but the fact of only three faculties, and these so distinctly marked, being involved in this case, not only confirms the general principle of a division of the brain, but affords grounds for presuming that the phrenological divisions are real.

*Fashion.*—The British public appear to have a great difficulty in understanding the condition of the fashionable world in the United States. They generally imagine that little refinement and elegance, but abundance of vulgar glitter and ridiculous pretension prevail there. They forget that the United States embrace a country of vast extent, exhibiting society in all its stages. The love of distinction being innate in the human mind, fashion is found in the social circle of the savage as well as in that of the monarch of France or England. In the United States, every condition of society, from that of the newly cleared wilderness to that of the opulent eastern cities, has its circle of fashion, and great differences may naturally be expected to exist. Philadelphia presents a great amount of female grace, beauty and accomplishments, and of handsome young men, rather verging towards dandyism; while the shops contain the most expensive and elegant wares, and the public rooms in many of the houses of wealthy citizens are richly furnished and decorated. The refinement and elegance of manners which distinguish the highest circles in London may not abound, but there is more of nature in its genuine forms. In short, there is no difficulty in finding society in which any mind, less fastidious than that of a Beau Brummel, may feel itself at home. Indeed, the contest for superiority in fashion between different circles, is here as keen and active as in any European city. Market Street is the northern boundary of fashionable residences. The fashionable inhabitants of Chestnut, Walnut, and Spruce Streets, which lie to the south of that line, will scarcely recognise as compeers families living to the north of it. If a stranger were to come to the city and occupy a house of the first class, beyond the northern boundary, and give the most splendid entertainments, he would nevertheless find it difficult to make his way into fashionable society. This is neither more nor less absurd than the rule in London thirty years ago, which limited all good style to localities south of Oxford Street, and doomed the north to irretrievable vulgarity.

Many families of good fortune and the highest respectability live north of Market Street, but few of them aim at figuring in the fashionable circle. We were told that one fashionable family have ceased to invite the English to their house, on account of the ungrateful conduct of the visitors of that nation, who have from time to time published their travels.

Feb. 5. Ther. 32°. *Residences of the Poor.*—It is distressing to learn, that even in this beautiful city the houses of the poor too much resemble the residences of the same class in European towns. Dr. Parrish informed me that great numbers of young children die here every season in hot weather from *cholera infantum*, or, as it is commonly called, the summer complaint. The poor live in small houses never intentionally ventilate their rooms, and seem not to know the use of cold water. He would enter one of these dwellings on a summer morning when the thermometer stood at 90°, and find an infant shrivelled and bedewed with a clammy perspiration. It had been gasping all night for breath, and not drawn one mouthful of fresh air, and had, perhaps, never been washed from its birth. Death speedily relieves it. Many of the parents who thus treat their children are Irish. He hired an Irish nurse to suckle one of his own children. She gave her own son to an Irish family to board. When the hot weather came, he thought of her infant, and went to see it. It was in the condition before described. In three hours more it would have been dead. Without a day's delay, he sent the whole Irish family with the child to his farm, and saved it. "I should have felt very uneasy," said he, "if it had died, because my child was thriving under the care of the mother whom nature had given to it, but whom I had taken away for the benefit of my own."

We were a good deal in Quaker society in Philadelphia, and enjoyed it highly. The principles of moderation, truthfulness, and simplicity, in which they are trained, render their manners pleasing, and those individuals among them who possess in addition high moral and intellectual qualities, are not only excellent specimens of good breeding, but most interesting companions. We knew female Quakers who, if introduced at the court of Victoria, would be regarded as perfectly well-bred.

Feb. 6. Ther. 14°. *Emigrants.*—This evening a well-dressed respectable looking Scots woman called and introduced herself to me, and told me that she and her husband had been servants in the family of one of my friends in Edinburgh; that they had come to the United States a few years ago; that her husband now acted as assistant in keeping a store in Market Street, Philadelphia, for which he received \$350 per annum; that she also had found employment; and that both were well,

happy and respected. She had a child with her equally well dressed with herself, and thriving in its appearance. She added that "this is the country for poor, honest and industrious people to come to." The visit afforded me much gratification.

*Musical Instruments.*—An Italian gentleman mentioned to us, that the climate of Philadelphia destroys musical instruments imported from Germany or England. He had an excellent pianoforte sent to him from Germany; but the first summer dried up the wood so thoroughly, that the keys would not act, and the instrument became useless. He hoped that the winter would restore it; but was disappointed. The German instruments are not varnished, but polished. The air takes off the polish, and in one year the naked grain of the wood appears. The American instruments are made considerably stronger than the European, and are nearly as delicate in their tones. The wood is seasoned up to the demands of the climate before being used, and it stands it better. The manufacture of pianofortes is a very extensive branch of trade in the eastern cities of the Union; still, the Americans cannot be called a musical people. Most of the really accomplished musical amateurs in Philadelphia are Italians or Germans, or descendants of these nations. This is very natural; for the English who settled in these colonies were not the musical part of that nation, and the pursuits of their descendants, since they came hither, have not been favorable for the development of the fine arts. The stimulating climate, however, and active brains of the Americans, may be expected, in due season, to bring forth both taste and talent for painting, sculpture and music. The colored population show considerable capacity for music. Frank Johnson's brass-band, which has been collecting large crowds of listeners in the upper rooms of the Philadelphia Museum (and disturbing my audience) is entirely composed of colored men, and the music is said to be very creditable to the performers.

*Useful Knowledge.*—This city produces many works adapted for popular use, written by professional and philosophical authors. Dr. John Bell, in conjunction with his friend Dr. Condie, edited an admirable work, "The Journal of Health," for four years (1829 to 1833), in which the results of the experience and scientific knowledge of themselves and other physicians regarding the preservation of health, were presented to the public in simple and pleasing forms. The Journal had reached a circulation of upwards of 10,000 copies, and might have been continued for a much longer time, but for the misconduct and bankruptcy of the original publisher. The second publisher and proprietor gave up with, as he informed the editors, a list on his books of 4000 subscribers. Dr. Bell has published a valuable

treatise on "Baths and Mineral Waters," and another interesting volume named "Health and Beauty," showing the relation between the two. These and similar works, such as those of Mr. Wines on popular education, are calculated to be of great advantage to the rising generation in the United States. The competition among authors to get their works introduced into schools is exceedingly keen, on account of the great extent of the sales, and consequent high profits. All sorts of influences, independent of the utility of the works, are put in requisition to obtain this object; and it would be highly desirable if the books of real merit were better known.

## CHAPTER XI.

Preservation of School-books—Dr. Franklin and Lord Hillsborough—Phrenology—Animal Magnetism—The African Church—The House of Refuge—Mr. Clay's Speech against Abolition—Clerks—Lecture Room—Railroad to Baltimore—Baltimore—Phrenology—Washington City—Negro Slavery—Visit to the President—Conservatism of the Law—La Signorina America Vespucci—Manners and Morals of Mississippi—The Capitol—and Congress—American Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—The Senate—The Sub-Treasury Bill—Dr. Duncan and the House of Representatives—Dr. Sewall the Anti-Phrenologist—Ex-President Adams—Dr. Duncan—Petitions against Slavery—General Washington's Birthday—The Negro Brain—Journey from Washington to Philadelphia—"How do you like our Country?"—Wilmington, Delaware—State Lotteries.

1839.

FEB. 8. Ther. 39°. *Preservation of School-Books.*—I visited a private school for Greek, Latin, arithmetic, geography, drawing, &c., taught by Mr. James in Market street. The arrangements and modes of teaching seemed remarkably good, but the circumstance which struck me most, as being new, was Mr. James's method of preserving the school-books from destruction: the use of which is included in the school fees. He covers the books with cotton cloth, and enjoins care of them on the boys. To give efficacy to this injunction, he withdraws every book immediately on perceiving the slightest tear or stain on it; sacrificing it altogether, and substituting one clean, new, and perfect, in its place. This practice stimulates the boys to preserve their books; those among them who are naturally careless becoming ashamed of the frequent renewals which they render necessary. He mentioned that he had found that when the books continued to be used after being soiled or torn, however little, they all made a rapid progress to decay; but that, by requiring them to be kept constantly in a high condition, the waste is surprisingly small. The principle involved in this practice is capable of being extensively applied. Erect a high, but still an attainable standard, in manners, cleanliness, and moral deportment in schools, and the children will work up to it with greater earnestness and success than many teachers believe.

*Dr. Franklin and Lord Hillsborough.*—On visiting Mr. Vaughan at the apartments of the American Philosophical Society this day, he showed us, and read, a manuscript report by Dr. Franklin of his interview in London with Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State, when the philosopher presented his commission as agent for the *people* of Massachusetts. He describes the secretary as having scolded both him and his constituents, and declined to recognise him as their agent, because his commission had not been sanctioned by the governor. The report is in the handwriting of Franklin, but it is not subscribed by him.

*Phrenology.*—I gave the last lecture of my course this evening, and received the thanks of the audience in a series of gratifying resolutions, which, with a table showing the attendance at this course, are printed in the Appendix, No. VII. They guaranteed a class of 200 hearers for a repetition of the lectures, and a second course was immediately announced.

Feb. 9. Ther. 45°. *Animal Magnetism.*—This subject is exciting considerable interest in Philadelphia; and the proceedings of Dr. Elliotson, and the attacks on him in the London Lancet, are much spoken of in medical society. The medical men here who do not admit the existence of animal magnetism, ascribe the phenomena to hysteria. As some cases in the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in this city have attracted attention, we visited it, and saw a deaf and dumb girl of about nine years of age, of a nervous and bilious temperament, lively, and in good health, magnetised. The operator seated her in a rocking-chair, placed his hands and thumbs in contact with hers, and thus induced the magnetic sleep. Her head fell on her shoulder, and she appeared to lose consciousness. He raised her up, pushed her about the room, and raised her arms. She then seemed to acquire an internal consciousness, appeared as if in an ecstasy, answered questions intelligently, walked, and jumped, and threw her arms about, as if extremely happy. Passes were then made with the hands across and nearly touching her forehead, when she awoke. She was again magnetised, and repeated the same evolutions. The questions were put by means of touch and the finger alphabet, and were answered in the same manner. Another girl, of the same age, fair, and of the sanguine and lymphatic temperament, and who was not deaf and dumb, was next magnetised. In her natural state she was so bashful (she had very large Cautiousness and Love of Approbation), that she would scarcely speak even in answer to a question. After being magnetised and put into a state of somnambulism, her bashfulness disappeared, and she became lively and confident, answering questions readily. She was asked what certain pic-



tures which were put into her hands represented, and although her eyes were not bandaged, but closed as in sleep, she carried the pictures to the lamp, and placed her head, and occasionally her fingers, on them; she also held them up to the light, as one would do who enjoyed faint but natural vision. In some instances she told correctly what objects they represented, in others she did not. She was requested to read, but did so very imperfectly, and obviously directed a chink of her eyelids, which she opened, to the book. A mask, having the eye-holes pasted over with thick paper, was put on, and she was requested to read. She could not do so; but, by holding back her head, she brought the opening at the nose into the line of the axis of the eye, and then offered to read.

There was no reason to believe that these young children were taught to act a part, although the latter in some of her actions appeared as if doing so. The gentleman who operated on them was most reasonable in his remarks. He professed only to show the effects of an experiment which he had been led to try in consequence of the general interest which the subject had excited, and offered no theory to explain the phenomena. I asked him if he would allow me to try the experiment also. He consented most readily; and I selected the deaf and dumb child as the one whose conduct gave me the greatest confidence in her simplicity of character. To my own surprise, my passes were effectual. They brought the girl out of her state of somnambulism; afterwards induced it again, and once more awoke her out of it. This was my first and only experiment in animal magnetism; and as I came to the house with the intention of being a spectator merely, there was certainly no concert between the girl and me, and her appearance and actions did not lead me to suppose that she had been trained to deception. In this case the deception, if there was any, must have been at least extemporaneous.

It is possible that some of my readers may conclude from this narrative, that I am not only a phrenologist, but an animal magnetiser, a union of faiths and professions which they may think natural and appropriate; but I merely report facts. I profess to have neither studied nor practised animal magnetism, and to be a stranger to its merits; but I do not shrink from witnessing experiments on any subject, or from trying them, if in my power; and still less from reporting what I see. The whole subject of animal magnetism appears to me to be involved in the profoundest obscurity; but this is a good reason why it should be subjected to the most searching scrutiny by observation.

Feb. 10. Therm. 25°. *The African Church*.—We heard a sermon to-day in the Episcopalian church occupied by the

people of color in Philadelphia. The slightest tinge of color in the skin, perhaps discernible only by a practised eye, excludes its owner from social intercourse and social worship with the whites. The church was commodious and comfortable, and the congregation respectable in their appearance. The service was performed, and a fair average sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Douglas, also a man of color. Many persons may imagine that ludicrous incidents must have presented themselves in such a church. They would expect to hear the minister and congregation mistaking and mispronouncing the English language; reading with strange accentuation, or curtailing the sentences with baby-like abruptness; but all such ideas are utterly groundless. The service was read and the sermon delivered in pure good English, equal to that of any of the other clergymen of the city, and the whole demeanour of the congregation was becoming and devout. Some of them are rich and well educated, and not a few are marked by such faint traces of African blood, that in Europe they might mingle in any society without their origin being suspected, unless some lynx-eyed American were present to detect it. One large and commodious pew, which I am told belongs to Dr. Rush's family, is generally reserved for white visitors. So intense is the aversion even of many humane and educated persons in this city to the colored race, that apparently they would shrink back from the gate of Heaven, if it were opened by a colored man and showed colored people within. Only the warmly philanthropic view them as men, and treat them with real regard. I have not been able to discover whether there is a sufficient number of rich and well educated colored persons in this city to form a cultivated society among themselves. I suspect that there is not; and that the most accomplished individuals of the colored race live here as in a social wilderness, raised by their attainments above the mass of their own people yet excluded from the society of the whites.

Feb. 13. Therm. 32°. *The House of Refuge.*—We visited the House of Refuge for Juvenile offenders of both sexes. This institution is similar to the one in Boston for the same purpose, previously described. Children found, by the magistrates or other judges, guilty of petty larcenies, assaults, and vagrancy, and also children whose parents complain of them as unmanageable, are recommended to the consideration of the managers of this institution, who, if they regard them as proper subjects, and have accommodation, receive them, and detain them during their own discretion. They are taught manufacturing furniture for umbrellas, cane-chair making, casting in brass, turning, and book-binding, and also reading, writing, and arithmetic. They attend school two hours, and labor the rest of the day, with the

exception of intervals for meals, and of half an hour for play. We were told that these children learn as much by an attendance for two hours a-day at school as those in the city schools do in four or five hours. The alternation of labor and learning brings the mind and brain fresh to the lessons.

The annual report to the legislature states that, "during the year 1838, 137 inmates, viz. 92 boys and 45 girls, were received into, and 129 left the refuge, viz. 90 boys and 39 girls, and there remained on the 31st ultimo 158, viz. 105 boys and 53 girls.

"Twenty boys were indentured to farmers, seven to shoemakers, one turner, one bookbinder, one butcher, two chair-makers, one tailor, two blacksmiths, one sashmaker, three manufacturers, one miller, one bricklayer, one printer, one baker, one sugar-maker, one cabinet-maker.

"The girls (16) were indentured to learn housewifery."

These children are not detained long enough to learn a trade thoroughly. They are apprenticed to farmers in the country, to the sea, and to tradesmen in small villages; but seldom in large towns. A considerable number of them are ultimately reformed. They are supported by gifts, legacies, and appropriations from the state. The managers let out the labor of the inmates to tradesmen in the city, but the recompense is not nearly equal to the expense of the establishment. Religious worship is performed in a chapel by the ministers of all the sects in the city in rotation, except the Roman Catholic, whose priests decline to officiate, because the chapel is not consecrated. Some of the managers attend every Sunday, and the clergy are requested to confine themselves to the broad and practical principles of Christianity, and to omit peculiar doctrines; also not to address the children as convicts or criminals.

*Mr. Clay's Speech against Abolition.*—Mr. Henry Clay, the Senator for Kentucky, is regarded as one of the first American statesmen of the present day. He is named by many of the whig newspapers as candidate for the presidency at the next election in 1840. On the 7th of February he delivered, in the senate, a speech against the abolition of slavery, which has been lauded to the skies by the public press, and commended in the highest terms at the public tables and in private society. It is said to be irresistible in argument, overwhelming in eloquence, and altogether fatal to the cause against which it is directed. It is also said to be intended as a declaration of his opinions on this subject, with a view to the presidency at the election in the end of 1840. I have read a very full and able report of it in the "United States' Gazette" of the 11th of February, and recognise both dexterity and eloquence in its structure; but few

of the commanding qualities of a great mind. As the subject of abolition continues to attract general attention, both in Britain and the United States, a brief abstract of Mr. Clay's arguments may prove interesting to the reader.

The occasion which gave rise to the speech was his presenting a petition signed by several hundred inhabitants of the district of Columbia, and chiefly of the city of Washington, stating that "they do not desire the abolition of slavery within the district, even if congress possesses the very questionable power of abolishing it, without the consent of the people whose interests would be immediately and directly affected by the measure." The petitioners state that many are not slave-holders, and some of them are conscientiously opposed to slavery; but they petition because "they justly respect the rights of those who own that description of property," and who do not desire abolition. Mr. Clay enters into the whole merits of the abolition question. He declares himself dissatisfied with the rule adopted by congress not to receive the petitions of the people relative to slavery; he would have received and referred them to a committee, which would have reported on them in such terms as would have checked the progress of abolition. He proceeds to supply this deficiency, and to "dissuade the public from continuing to agitate a subject fraught with the most direful consequences."

The specific objects aimed at by the abolitionists are described by Mr. Clay to be, "the immediate abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and in the territory of Florida; the prohibition of the removal of slaves from state to state; and the refusal to admit any new state, comprising within its limits the institution of domestic slavery, into the Union. "These," says he, "are but so many short stages in the long and bloody road to the distant goal at which they would finally arrive—abolition, universally abolition." To the agency of their powers of persuasion, they now propose to add "the powers of the ballot box;" and on this account Mr. Clay was induced to address the senate.

He traces the history of abolition, and assigns the present American excitement, chiefly to the "undecided British experiment," to which he most fervently wishes complete success, while he confesses that he has "fearful forebodings of a disastrous termination to it." Another cause of the excitement is the desire "to mingle abolition with politics, and to array one part of the Union against the other."

The objections to abolition are stated by Mr. Clay as follows: The power of Congress over the district of Columbia is conferred by the following words in the constitution of the United States. "To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatso-

ever over said district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States." This provision preceded in point of time the actual cessions of territory which were made by Maryland and Virginia. Both of these were then, and still are, slave holding states; and the grant should always be interpreted as having reference to the object of the cession. This object was "to establish a seat of government of the United States;" and Maryland and Virginia could not have anticipated that the cession would be so applied as to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, while they maintained it. Abolition is not necessary for the purpose of rendering the district comfortable and convenient as a seat of government of the whole Union; and the inhabitants of the district do not desire it to promote their happiness and prosperity. Therefore Congress has no right to abolish slavery. Slavery exists here in its mildest form. At the last census there were only 6119 slaves in a population of 39,834; and the number has probably not much increased since. The language of the grant may possibly be sufficiently comprehensive to include a power of abolition, but it would not at all thence follow that the power could be rightfully exercised. The object of it must always be kept in view in a correct interpretation.

Florida is bounded on all its land sides by slave states, and almost extends within the tropics. Cuba, the nearest important island to it on the water side, is a slave island. "This simple statement of its geographical position should of itself decide the question." Slavery existed in it in 1819, when it was ceded to the United States, and the property of the inhabitants was secured to them. To abolish slavery there would be to rob them of their property, unless a reasonable time were allowed to them to remove it. By the compromise which took place in Congress in 1820, when Missouri was admitted into the Union, it was agreed that the line of  $36^{\circ} 30''$  of north latitude should be the boundary between the free and slave states to be created in the territories ceded by the treaty of Louisiana; Florida is south of that line, and therefore within the space intended for slavery.

The clause of the constitution which invests Congress with authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes, has hitherto remained dormant in respect to the interior trade by land between the states. It was granted to secure peace and harmony between the states. It is a power of *regulation* and not of *prohibition*. It is conservative, not destructive. Regulation, *ex vi termini*, implies the continued existence or prosecution of the thing regulated. Prohibition implies total discontinuance or annihilation.

The moment that Negro slaves are admitted to be property, the law secures the right to the owner of carrying them from one state to another, without any hindrance from Congress.

But the end aimed at by the abolitionists is the liberation of the three millions of slaves held in bondage in the United States. The first impediment to the accomplishment of this object, is the want of all power in the General Government to effect the purpose. This belongs exclusively to the slave states.

The next obstacle arises out of the presence of three millions of slaves, dispersed throughout the land, part and parcel of our population. The slaves are here; no practical scheme for their removal or separation from us has yet been devised or proposed; and the true inquiry is, What is best to be done with them for their happiness and our own? In the slave states the white man must govern the black, or the black govern the white. In several of those states, the number of the slaves is greater than that of the white population. An immediate abolition of slavery in them would be followed by a desperate struggle for ascendancy, which would end in the extermination or subjugation of the one race or the other. Is it not better for both parties that the existing state of things should be preserved?

A third impediment to abolition is to be found in the immense amount of capital which is invested in slave property. The average value of slaves at this time may be moderately stated at \$400 each. The number of slaves is three millions; the total value then, by estimate of the slave property in the United States, is \$1,200,000,000. This property is owned by widows, orphans, the aged and infirm, as well as the sound and vigorous. It is the subject of mortgages, deeds of trust, family settlements, and in many instances is the sole reliance of creditors. Does any considerate man believe that it could be annihilated without convulsion, revolution, and bloodshed?

There is a visionary dogma that Negro slaves cannot be the subject of property. "That *is* property which the law declares **TO BE** property. Two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified Negro slaves as property." The British government recognised them as property, when they paid twenty millions sterling as a compensation to the colonies for their loss. The **FACT** that the law has for two hundred years regarded them as property, stands opposed to the wild speculations of theorists and innovators that they are not. The abolitionists should, therefore, raise the funds among themselves necessary to indemnify the owners of the slaves before they demand their emancipation.

The proceedings of the abolitionists have thrown back the cause of emancipation, and increased the rigors of legislation against slaves in most, if not all, of the slave states. Forty years

ago Kentucky was preparing for a gradual abolition, like that adopted in Pennsylvania in 1780, at the instance of Dr. Franklin, according to which the generation in being were to remain in slavery, but all their offspring, born after a specified day, were to be free at the age of twenty-eight, and in the mean time were to receive preparatory instruction to qualify them for the enjoyment of freedom. The proposition in Kentucky for a gradual emancipation did not prevail, but it was sustained by a large and respectable minority. That minority had increased, and was increasing, until the abolitionists commenced their operations. The effect has been to dissipate all prospects whatever, for the present, of any scheme of gradual or other emancipation.

Prior to the agitation of abolition, there was a progressive melioration in the condition of slaves throughout all the slave states. This is all now checked.

If it were possible to overcome the insurmountable obstacles now described, extermination of the blacks, or their ascendancy over the whites, would be the sole alternative. The emancipated blacks would flow over on the free states in quest of labor, reduce the rate of wages, and spread misery among the white laboring population. I have seen with regret, grief, and astonishment, the resolute opposition (of the abolitionists) to the project of colonization. "The scheme is characterised by unmixed benevolence and utility. The abolitionists, whatever they may declare, must be in favor of amalgamation. It has been the divine pleasure to make the black man black, and the white man white, and to distinguish them by other repulsive constitutional differences." "Those whom God has created different, and has declared, by their physical structure and color, ought to be kept asunder, should not be brought together by any process whatever of amalgamation."

"It is frequently asked, What is to become of the African race among us? Are they for ever to remain in bondage? The true answer is, that the same Providence, who has hitherto guided and governed us, and averted all serious evils from the existing relation between the two races, will guide and govern our posterity. Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof." "And taking the aggregate of the two races, the European is constantly, though slowly, gaining upon the African portion. This fact is demonstrated by the periodical returns of our population." "In some one hundred and fifty or two hundred years hence, but few vestiges of the black race will remain among our posterity."\*

\* In his speech, Mr. Clay alludes to his public exposition of the manner in which this may be accomplished. I have not seen this exposition, but was told that he proposes to transport the young females to Africa, by the aid of the Colonization Society, of which he is President.

“ I prefer the liberty of my own country to that of any other people, and the liberty of my own race to that of any other race; and the liberty of the descendants of Africa in the United States is incompatible with the safety and liberty of the European descendants.”

Such then is a brief, but, I trust, a correct outline of Mr. Clay's defence of the **CONTINUED EXISTENCE** of slavery (for he declares himself hostile to its first institution), and I must confess, that it did not excite in me the same grand conception of his powers as a statesman and orator, which it seems to have created in the minds of the Americans in general.

The fundamental question is, whether slaves can, by any law, be constituted property? If they can, Mr. Clay is in the right: if they cannot, his whole speech is a structure without a basis. The question necessarily leads us back to inquire into the foundation of all law. If force be the foundation of law, then slaves may be made property; for the white race, by superior organisation and cultivation, have, *de facto*, subdued and reduced to bondage their African brethren. But, according to this principle, the white men and their descendants, who were captured and reduced to slavery, by the Barbary corsairs, became lawful property whenever they were brought within the jurisdiction of the laws of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, which were much more ancient than two hundred years. But all Christians recognise, as a first principle, that might does *not* constitute right. The thing declared must in itself be just, before any human enactment can render it legitimately binding on those on whom it is imposed. Were Mr. Clay, with his present intelligence and attainments, to change place with his own Negro slaves, and to be told that the law had made him their property, the whole of the argument which he has now adduced, with such apparent self-satisfaction, would appear to him to be slender and feeble as a gossamer thread. He would take his stand on the law of Christianity and the law of Nature, and demonstrate triumphantly that as he or his ancestors had been reduced to bondage at first by force and fraud, no enactments of the plunderers, or of those who had trafficked with them for their plunder, or of the posterity of either, could ever convert this wrong into right, or deprive him of his title to freedom. Phrenological observation satisfies me that the force with which this argument will come home to the minds of individuals, will be different, according to the size of the organs of Conscientiousness and Benevolence in relation to those of Acquisitiveness and Self-Esteem in their brains; affected, however, to some extent, by their circumstances and education. If the Americans do not recognise its soundness in the abstract, they will probably understand it better when I add, that their title to asser



their own independence against the arms of Britain, was founded solely on the indestructible and inalienable right of man to exact justice at the hands of his fellows; that the right of the Greeks to throw off the Turkish yoke, with their desire to effect which the Americans manifested so profound a sympathy, was based on the same foundation; and that the right of the conquered Canadian French to demand their freedom from England, of which the Americans cordially approved, can be justified on no other principle of reason or morality. The law which declared the African Negro to be property, did not unmake him a man; and so, it could not annihilate his human rights. In all the arguments in defence of slavery which I have read, the fundamental error seems to be committed, of assuming that Negroes are not men, but merely goods and chattels. When Mr. Clay opposes the *fact*, that for two hundred years they have been considered as property by the law, to what he calls the theoretical and visionary assertion, that they are men, he opposes merely the acknowledgment of a wrong to the statement of the moral principle by which it is condemned.

Mr. Clay regards it as certain, that if slavery were abolished, a war of extermination would ensue between the races, which would lead to greater evils than those generated by slavery. This is the argument of the white man, of the master, in whose eyes his own losses or sufferings are ponderous as gold, and those of three millions of Negroes light as a feather. Ask the Negroes their opinion of the miseries of the existing system and weigh this against the evils anticipated by the Whites from emancipation, and then strike the balance. Before I had an opportunity of studying the Negro character and Negro brain, I entertained the same opinion with Mr. Clay, that a war of extermination would be the consequence of immediate freedom. More accurate and extensive information has induced me to change this view. I may here anticipate a statement which belongs, in chronological order, to a more advanced date, namely, that I have studied the crania of the North American Indians and of the Negroes in various parts of the United States, and also observed their living heads, and have arrived at the following conclusions. The North American Indians have given battle to the Whites, and perished before them, but have never been reduced either to national or to personal servitude. The development of the brains shows large organs of Destructiveness, Secretiveness, Cautiousness, Self-Esteem, and Firmness, with deficient organs of Benevolence, Conscientiousness, and Reflection. This indicates a natural character that is proud, cautious, cunning, cruel, obstinate, vindictive, and little capable of reflection or combination. The brain of the Negro, in

general (for there are great varieties among the African race, and individual exceptions are pretty numerous), shows proportionately less Destructiveness, Cautiousness, Self-Esteem, and Firmness, and greater Benevolence, Conscientiousness, and Reflection, than the brain of the native American. In short, in the Negro brain the moral and Reflecting organs are of larger size, in proportion to the organs of the animal propensities now enumerated, than in that of the Indian. The Negro is, therefore, naturally more submissive, docile, intelligent, patient, trustworthy, and susceptible of kindly emotions, and less cruel, cunning, and vindictive, than the other race.

These differences in their natural dispositions throw some light on the differences of their fates. The American Indian has escaped the degradation of slavery, because he is a wild, vindictive, cunning, untameable savage, too dangerous to be trusted by the white men in social intercourse with themselves, and moreover, too obtuse and intractable to be worth coercing into servitude. The African has been deprived of freedom and rendered "property," according to Mr. Clay's view, because he is by nature a *tame* man, submissive, affectionate, intelligent and docile. He is so little cruel, cunning, fierce, and vindictive, that the white men can oppress him far beyond the limits of Indian endurance, and still trust their lives and property within his reach; while he is so intelligent that his labor is worth acquiring. The native American is free, because he is too dangerous and too worthless a being to be valuable as a slave; the Negro is in bondage, because his native dispositions are essentially amiable. The one is like the wolf or the fox, the other like the dog. In both, the brain is inferior in size, particularly in the moral and intellectual regions, to that of the Anglo-Saxon race, and hence the foundation of the natural superiority of the latter over both; but my conviction is, that the very qualities which render the Negro in slavery a safe companion to the White, will make him harmless when free. If he were by nature proud, irascible, cunning and vindictive, he would not be a slave; and as he is not so, freedom will not generate these qualities in his mind; the fears, therefore, generally entertained of his commencing, if emancipated, a war of extermination, or for supremacy over the Whites, appear to me to be unfounded; unless, after his emancipation, the Whites should commence a war of extermination against him. The results of emancipation in the British West India Islands have hitherto borne out these views, and I anticipate that the future will still farther confirm them.

I do not enter into an examination of the detailed impediments to abolition which Mr. Clay has mentioned; because, if the slaves

be entitled, as human beings, to refuse to acknowledge the authority of all laws which declare them to be "property," and if it be safe to restore them to the rights of men, these obstacles will not be found to be insurmountable. Mr. Clay speaks of Providence having separated the negro race from the white, and "declared by their physical structure and color, that they ought to be kept asunder." This is unsound. When Providence intends to prevent races from mingling, he renders the product of their union unprolific, as in the case of the mulé. The slaveholders have impressed on the slave population striking evidence that no such prohibition exists between the African and European races. The white tint distinguishable in thousands of them shows, that both parents were not of African blood; and it is generally admitted, that the whiter the skin, the closer is the approach of the individual to European qualities of mind. The quadroons are described as a handsome and talented race.(a)

(a) It must be presumptuous in man to interpret the designs of Providence from his own limited historical experience: but, yet, if we are to attach importance to the fact, that, for a period of three thousand years past, the Negro race has never intermingled with the White (Caucasian), or the Yellow (Mongolian) race, although in constant contact with the two latter as their slaves—to such an extent, at least, as to form a community, much less a people, we are justified in doubting whether it is intended, in future times, that such an intermingling of the races shall ever take place. The very fact, also, admitted by Mr. Combe, that the Negro "brain is inferior in size, particularly in the moral and intellectual regions, to that of the Anglo-Saxon race," militates strongly against a belief that it comports with the plan of Providence to lower the standard and diminish the natural means of moral and intellectual excellence, by an intermixture of the races. Justice, humanity, and religion, to which may be added the mere worldly inducements of sound policy and national greatness, require the emancipation of the negro race from slavery on this continent, and from slavery and heathenism and their accompanying horrors in Africa: but, let it be added, also, that by all these high as well as venal motives, it is incumbent on us to keep the races distinct, and, as a necessary sequence, to give the inferior one a free and large field for independent action, with all the aid which our superior science and literature can afford to them. Mere and immediate emancipation on this continent would not meet the requirements of the case, unless adequate provision were made for the peaceful occupation of territory, and exercise of individual and national rights by the emancipated. This result can only be obtained by the acquisition of territory in Africa; and the preparation, through White agency, of the country for the reception of those blacks who are, or may be hereafter, nominally free in America, but who can only become actually so in Africa—with the broad Atlantic between them and their ever grasping brethren and superiors in intellect of the white race—whether we call the members of the latter, Americans, or British, or Spanish, or French, or Danish, or Dutch. The experiment now in progress in the British West India Islands, is, as yet, entitled to small weight, as far as regards the ultimate fate of the portions of the two races in presence of each other in that part of the world. The whites ought not if they can, they cannot if they would, prescribe limits in the scale of social elevation, beyond which

The Anglo-Americans in some degree admire the American Indian character, invest it with a kind of nobleness and dignity, and some families even boast of their inheriting Indian blood; while the Negro is despised, hated, and by some even abhorred, as scarcely belonging to the human species. This opinion has neither philosophy, religion, nor experience, to sanction it. Much as Mr. Clay's speech was admired, I often asked in society, whether any one meant to justify slavery, or to maintain that a time will not come when it must cease. The answer generally given was, that few persons defend slavery as in itself right, or desire its unlimited endurance; but that, since the abolitionists commenced their agitations, few will avow even these sentiments in public.(a)

Feb. 14. Ther. 39°. *Clerks*.—Young men educated as clerks, capable of writing letters and keeping books, superabound in Philadelphia, and receive only \$4, while a porter is allowed \$6 a week. A young Scotsman, belonging to this class, assured me that he had found it extremely difficult to procure employment, and when he was successful, he received only \$4 a week. I asked some persons in trade, who corroborated the statement, for an explanation of the fact itself. They said that the common schools qualify a great number of young men for the counting-house; that the sons of laborers are often ambitious, and although only moderately gifted with talent, become clerks, conceiving

the emancipated blacks shall rise. The equality admitted by the Imperial Parliament will not remain long a mere abstraction:—first the free servant, then the merchant or property holder, then the legislator, are natural steps in the rise of the fortunes of the West India blacks:—their majority in numbers will soon give them a preponderance in the legislature, and with this preponderance will they submit to even implied inferiority in any thing, still less in social intercourse, marriage, &c.? Amalgamation, already seen in many cases, will become general, and there will then be an Anglo-African people, whose fortunes, as measured by progress in science, practical and ethical, and in the domain of literature, must from Mr. Combe's own showing be dim compared with those of the Anglo-Americans. Or, if amalgamation does not take place, and the races are kept apart, can we entertain such exalted notions of Negro justice, magnanimity, and self-denial, as to believe that they will concede, in all respects, to their white countrymen, who are in a small minority, the possession to these latter of all their rights, abstract and practical, with an especial care that their feelings shall not be hurt by even a show, to say nothing of the exercise of superiority!

(a) If Mr. Combe had travelled in the Southern States, he would have learned that the abolitionists have succeeded in driving many formerly moderate men in those states, to an open and even extravagant defence and eulogy of slavery, and a determined persistence in the practice of slaveholding; and that northern men who before, as a matter of course, were adverse to slavery, feel themselves called upon, for the sake of the Union, and of successful but peaceful reform, to modify and explain much more than heretofore their anti-slavery opinions.

this vocation to be more genteel than labor. To them are added a multitude of clerks constantly arriving from Europe. Between the two, the market is overstocked, employment is not to be obtained, and they solicit engagements for the means of a bare subsistence.

Feb. 15. Ther. 34°. *Lecture-room.*—So much dissatisfaction was expressed with my late room, that, after visiting every other apartment in Philadelphia fit for the purpose, and attainable, I have been under the necessity of engaging the Musical Fund Hall in Locust street, at \$800 for sixteen lectures, or 10*l.* a night; besides paying for attendance. It is the usual concert room, too large for my class; but I could find no other room, at a more moderate rent, that was large enough.

Feb. 16. Ther. 34°. *Railroad to Baltimore.*—This morning at eight o'clock we left Philadelphia, and travelled in large and comfortable cars, warmed by stoves, to Baltimore. The railroad consists of a single track; the distance is ninety-four miles, and although we suffered considerable detention by the bridge over the Schuylkill having been lately carried away by a flood, and not yet restored, we arrived at 3 P. M. There is a "ladies' car" in each train, appropriated for ladies, and the gentlemen who are travelling with them. It is divided into two apartments, and a place of retirement is added. This is a great accommodation, particularly when children are in the party.

*Baltimore.*—In the United States, Baltimore is often called the monumental city, because it possesses two public monuments; one a column in honor of General Washington, and the other a structure of a less definite description, to commemorate the citizens who fell in defending Fort M'Henry against the British, in 1814. The city stands on irregular ground, some of the streets are steep, and those recently built are wide and handsome. Brick is generally used, but the fine quality of it, and of the masonry, gives an appearance of taste and elegance to the fabrics. We were told that the trade and population are increasing rapidly, and that the present estimate is, that the city contains 80,000 white and 20,000 colored persons. The latter are mostly slaves.

*Phrenology.*—I had the pleasure of meeting with several medical gentlemen of this city, previously known to me by correspondence as Phrenologists. Among these was Dr. Stewart, who, many years ago, sent to the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh casts of the heads of Pepe, Courro, Felix, and Tardy, pirates of atrocious character executed in Baltimore. He mentioned to me, that, some years ago, he had removed a tumor from the head of a man, a manager of slaves on a plantation, who, when in health, was remarkable for steadiness, firmness,

and decision of character. The tumor was situated externally over the organs of Firmness, and after it was formed, he lost these characteristics of mind and became undecided, and finally imbecile. He lingered for some weeks after the operation, and died. A *post-mortem* examination of the head showed that the convolutions of the brain below the tumor, and constituting the two organs of Firmness, were disorganised by suppuration. Dr. Stewart received the report of the state of the brain from a country surgeon who knew nothing about Phrenology, and the account of the change of character from the gentleman who had employed his late patient. Neither of these knew the relation of the fact which he communicated to the fact communicated by the other.

Feb. 18. Ther. 33°. *Washington City*.—This morning at 9 o'clock, we left Baltimore, and travelled to Washington by a railroad. The distance is thirty-eight miles, and the country is undulating, but the railroad finds a practicable track through the valleys. The soil seems to be poor, but clothed with small trees. A chill wind blew, and the ground was covered with snow. On approaching Washington, the first object that presents itself is the capitol, a large massive building painted white to resemble marble, with a dome not of very successful proportions. The town looks like a large straggling village reared in a drained swamp, with the navigable Potomac about a mile distant.

*Negro Slavery*.—We are now in the district of Columbia, the seat of government of the United States; and on taking up the "Daily National Intelligencer" in Gadsby's hotel, my eye was attracted by the following advertisements, among many others of a similar kind:—

"Cash for Negroes.—The subscriber wishes to purchase a number of Negroes for the Louisiana and Mississippi market. He will pay the highest prices the market will justify. Himself or an agent at all times can be found at his jail, on Seventh street, the first house south of the market bridge, on the west side. Letters addressed to him will receive the earliest attention.

"aug. 23—d&ctf

WM. H. WILLIAMS."

"Cash for Negroes.—We will give cash and liberal prices for any number of likely negroes, families included. We can be found at B. & Shekell's tavern, a few doors below Lloyd's tavern, opposite the centre market, on Seventh street.

"We wish to purchase for a gentleman's own use, a good cook, twenty-five or thirty years of age, also a good seamstress, eighteen or twenty years of age, and a male house-servant, between thirty-five and forty-five years of age.

"may 1—dtf

BIRCH & SHEKELL."

“A likely Boy for Sale.—For sale, a smart and likely well grown boy, aged about sixteen years—to be sold to any gentleman wanting him for his own use. He is sold for no fault, but because the owner has no further use for him. For terms, &c. inquire of  
EDW. DYER, Auctioneer.

“feb. 16—d3t.”

Mr. Clay assures us that slavery exists in this district in its “*mildest form*,” and I believe the statement to be correct; but these advertisements show that even the tenderest mercies of slavery are very terrible. Since we entered Maryland, we have been attended in the inns by colored servants of both sexes, who are slaves. Some of them have children, who may be seen, in all the innocence and gaiety of youth, playing about the courts and passages of the hotels. They are “property” daily increasing in value, and in due season will probably become fit for “the Louisiana and Mississippi market,” when they may be sold to Mr. “Wm. H. Williams, at his jail on Seventh street.” The Americans who have been born and reared in familiarity with these scenes, not only do not perceive the malignity of them; but have a variety of commonplace palliations, if not positive eulogiums, to offer in their favor; and these are not selfish and degraded Americans, but persons of education and good standing in society. Familiarity with slavery obviously blunts men’s moral perceptions in regard to its qualities. Without pretending to any uncommon degree of sensibility, I confess that my mind could never look on slaves, particularly children, and young men and women, without involuntarily first placing myself in their stead, and then following them to the “Louisiana and Mississippi market,” to the cotton and sugar plantations, where they are forced to labor to the limits of their strength, till toil and misery send them to the grave. These ideas haunted my imagination, until the whole subject became deeply distressing.

I have already mentioned that the Americans are not justly answerable for the institution of slavery, and that it ought to be regarded as a great calamity bequeathed to them by their ancestors, including the British government of the last century; but after every apology has been framed for slavery which the ingenuity of man can invent, the discord between it and the dictates of man’s highest and noblest faculties ever jars upon the soul, and ever will jar, until it be abolished. Those who defend its continuance do not recognise the fact that this discord exists, will exist, and will never allow peace to the highest minds, while such outrages to humanity pollute the soil. The supporters of slavery seem not to perceive that a just God governs the world, and that the dictates of man’s highest senti-

ments are His voice denouncing it as wrong. They speak of it as an institution permitted by His providence, and say that in His own good time He will bring it to a close. But slavery, like piracy, murder, and fire-raising, proceeds from *abuses* of man's animal propensities. It is true that God has *permitted* man to abuse all his faculties, but he never *approves* of these abuses. In his government of the world, he takes care that, sooner or later, those who sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind; and thus it will probably be with the patrons of slavery, if they leave it to God's providence to put an end to the institution, without making any moral efforts themselves to abolish it. It is certain that He will abolish it; but it will be in tempest and whirlwind, in blood and devastation, amid cries and misery. He now calls on *them* to abolish it in mercy and in peace. In listening to the debates of Congress, in which the most heightened appeals were made to justice and right, and the noblest sentiments were uttered in favor of universal freedom;—and afterwards, on returning home, casting a glance at Mr. "Wm. H. Williams's jail" for the purchase of negroes for the Louisiana and Mississippi market, I could not avoid the idea that I was looking on the representation of a drama written by a madman. The spirit and principles in operation in Congress, and in the "jail," were so wildly in discord, that it seemed as if only the delirium of insanity could have placed them so directly in juxtaposition.

Feb. 19. Ther. 27°. *Visit to the President.*—Dr. Sewall, to whom I brought a letter, called and undertook to introduce us to Mr. Van Buren, the President. The "White House," as the presidential residence is named, lies at one end of the chief street of Washington, and the capitol at the other, the distance being one and one-eighth part of a mile. It is a large square building; not particularly striking in its architecture. We entered as if going into a public office. We opened the door, met nobody, and were asked no questions. At last we reached the ante-room, and here a servant appeared. Dr. Sewall sent in his own name and ours, and in less than a minute, we were requested to enter a large room, which resembled the business-room of a chief secretary of state. Mr. Van Buren immediately appeared, received us kindly and politely, and entered into conversation. He spoke of steam-navigation, the corn-laws, Mr. O'Connell's quarrel with the Dublin Press, and the rising of the Chartists, and appeared to me to possess accurate information, and to state sound views on every topic on which he touched. His manners are very agreeable, combining the ease of a gentleman accustomed to the best society, with the dignity of a public character. The busts and portraits of him, and



even the caricatures, which every where abound, are excellent likenesses.

*Conservatism of the Law.*—Each state has a written constitution, which defines not only the powers of the magistrates but those of the legislature itself; and the supreme court of the state possesses authority to determine whether any particular act of the legislature be legal or the reverse; that is to say, whether or not it transgresses the limits prescribed to the legislature by the constitution. I lately conversed with an eminent lawyer who had just returned from Annapolis, where he had pleaded the cause of the Professors of the university of Baltimore, who sought, in the supreme court of Maryland, to nullify an act of the legislature of that state, on the ground of its being *ultra vires*, *et* beyond the powers of the legislature, and had succeeded. I see the decision reported in the newspapers to-day:—"It decides," says the report, "the act (of the legislature) of 1825, which gave to certain trustees the government of the university, to be unconstitutional and void, and all the rights and franchises of the university are declared to be vested in the regents. The opinion of the court is regarded as an able and powerful defence of chartered rights against legislative encroachments."

The constitution of the United States is in some respects similar to that of the particular states. It also has established a supreme court, which has extensive jurisdiction, and performs a most important office in preserving the integrity of the Union. Its judicial power comprehends all cases, in law and equity, arising under the constitution itself, or the laws of the United States; all controversies to which the United States shall be a party; controversies between two or more states, or between citizens of different states, and many others. It sits in Washington, and on the rolls of the court may be seen, *Maryland versus Virginia*, or *Ohio versus Indiana*; these sovereign states appearing there as private litigants. They argue claims before the judges, and implicitly acquiesce in their decisions. If civilisation were so far advanced in Europe as to induce the whole sovereignties to support the jurisdiction of such a court, it might avert many bloody and expensive wars. The judges of this court in Washington are men of great talent and erudition, and their decisions are highly respected.

Another case has excited great interest all over the Union. Judge M'Kinley, sitting in the district court in Alabama, had decided that a bank incorporated in Georgia had no right to sue any person in Alabama; that is, that no incorporated company could sue beyond the state in which it was incorporated. The effect of this decision would be virtually to repeal the Union in so far as the privileges of incorporated companies are concerned,

and to leave each state, in regard to its chartered companies, in the same condition as if surrounded by foreign countries. The Constitution of the United States provides, that, "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states," and that "full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state." The decision of the Judge of Alabama was regarded as a refusal to acknowledge the "public act" of the legislature of Georgia which incorporated the bank, as inconsistent with these provisions of the law, and therefore unconstitutional; and the cause was brought into the supreme court of the United States by appeal. Mr. Webster argued powerfully in favor of the efficacy of the privileges of chartered companies in all the states, in so far as they are consistent with the common law. The judgment of the court of Alabama was reversed by a majority of the judges, and the following propositions are reported as being established by the decision:—

"1. That, by the comity of nations, corporations can contract, as well as sue, in other nations, as well as in that in which they exist, or by whose government they are created.

"2. That this comity exists, in a still stronger degree, between states connected together as are the states of this Union.

"3. That the constitution and laws of Alabama establish no such POLICY as is infringed by the purchase and sale of bills of exchange within her limits by the agents of foreign corporations.

"4. An admission that there are some rights of citizens of other states, secured by the constitution, of which a state cannot divest them. This was not the ground of the decision, but was intended, as we suppose, to be, in legal phrase, the *exclusion of a conclusion.*"

*La Signorina America Vespucci.*—We met this lady in society this evening. She is here as a solicitor to congress for a grant of land in return for the name which her ancestor Americus Vespuccius furnished to this great continent. On the 29th of January last she presented a memorial in the French language to the senate, in which she sets forth her name and descent, and states that "she has been obliged to quit her country (Italy) on account of her political opinions. She has separated herself from her family, in order to avoid drawing upon them the displeasure of her government. She is now alone, without country, without family, and without protection." She "has been travelling from country to country, without a stay, and without a security." "The good queen of the French restored her to courage by granting her protection, so far as even to permit her to travel under the auspices of the French flag.

But this generosity does not give her a country; this protection does not bestow upon her the title of citizen." "She is now in this quarter of the globe, which has been baptised by her ancestor; by him who has bequeathed to it his imperishable name." "America Vespucci will make no demand on the American government." "She knows that the Americans have been magnanimous," "that they have been generous towards all who have done a noble act for their country; and that they have, moreover, granted protection and an asylum even to emigrants from other nations. There is but one Vespuccius who has given his name to a continent. Will the Americans do nothing for the descendant of Americus?" Her friends made it known to the senate that she desired "citizenship, and a grant of land."

This eloquent appeal was remitted by the senate to a committee of five of their number to consider and report. The chairman of the committee was taken ill, and the committee met in his absence. They divided, two for, and two against, recommending a grant. When the chairman resumed his duties, he found himself in the unenviable position of being called on to decide this delicate question by his single vote. America Vespucci is a tall handsome Italian lady, "young," and "an exile from her own country." She has the sweetest smile and most expressive eyes; and she bent the whole force of her charms and eloquence on the chairman to induce him to espouse her cause. But he was an American senator of business habits, and had also the fear of his constituents before his eyes. He therefore constantly asked her for "a reason," for "a principle intelligible to men of business habits," why the United States should make a grant of land to the descendant of Americus, who, if history might be relied on, had received too much honor, when his name, instead of that of Christopher Columbus, was bestowed on the country. But the lady, who understood no English, urged, in the most beautiful French, the romantic incident of a young female descendant of Americus, an exile from home, coming to congress, after the lapse of so many centuries and soliciting only a small portion of the territory which already bore her name! She enforced this view with all the persuasive arts of eloquence, and could not comprehend what more satisfactory "reasons," or "business-like principles," the senator could require, in order to authorise him to report in her favor. But all her efforts were in vain. The senator stood fast by his "business principles," and the committee reported against a grant either of citizenship or of land, as being unauthorised by the constitution; but strongly recommended a subscription by the American people in her favor. The report was subsequently approved of by the senate, whose individual members subscribed

a handsome sum for the lady's benefit, but which she declined to accept.

*Manners and Morals of Mississippi.*—The ferocious quarrels and dissolute manners of Mississippi have been described by many travellers. They appear to me to indicate a condition of mind in the people somewhat resembling that which prevailed in Scotland three centuries ago, and which is strongly depicted by Sir Walter Scott in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, and still more strikingly illustrated in the records of the High Court of Justiciary for the same period. Rapine, falsehood and bloodshed, seem then to have been occurrences so common as to have attracted no particular attention. The Western States of the American Union, with similar mental dispositions, possess more of the physical elements of civilisation; and as Scotland has thoroughly changed her character for the better, there is ample reason to expect a still more rapid improvement in the morals of these portions of the American people.

I have had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with a gentleman from Mississippi who has the best means of information regarding it, and whose own talents and dispositions would render him a welcome visitor in any society. He informs me that in Mississippi the legislature has passed severe laws against rioting, in other words, lynching, and using the Bowie knife. This knife has a long blade, like a carving knife, with a thick back to give it strength, an edge as sharp as a razor, and the point rounded off like a scimitar. Its weight and sharpness render it a frightful weapon either for stabbing or cutting. It is carried in a sheath under the waistcoat, on the left side, and can be drawn in an instant. About one in forty of all the western people go thus armed. A law recently enacted, renders it criminal to *draw* a Bowie-knife, although it be not used. The general complaint against these states is, that their laws may be good, and may prohibit ferocious actions; but that they are not regularly executed. Great efforts are making by the respectable portion of the inhabitants to wipe off this stain from their country. A lawyer of some respectability lately drew a Bowie knife in a quarrel and threatened his opponent. He was carried before a criminal judge, convicted under the recent law, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. He petitioned the governor for a pardon. His petition was refused, and the governor stated publicly, that in no circumstances would he ever pardon any individual convicted under the Bowie knife act. The law, also, has recently made the town or district liable in cases of damage or destruction of property by mobs. There may be difficulty in inducing juries to convict under this statute.

Feb. 20. Ther. 29°. *The Capitol and Congress.*—This

morning we proceeded to the Capitol. In approaching it, I could not help feeling ashamed of the barbarism of my countrymen, who in the war of 1814 consigned it to the flames. The external walls have been painted white to obliterate the smoky traces of that unworthy deed. The grand vestibule is under the dome, and has no opening upwards to allow of the escape of air. The consequence is, that the effluvia of human bodies and of tobacco-juice greet the nostrils and afflict the lungs the moment it is entered. We found also that the senate chamber and House of Representatives are, in this weather, hermetically sealed; except at the doors and chimneys. Although these may provide some change of air for the members, who are all accommodated on the floor, the unhappy visitors in the galleries receive all the vitiated air from below, render it worse by their own breathing, and are nearly doomed to suffocation. The ladies are accommodated with the front seat, and occasionally faint from the impurity of the atmosphere. I sat three hours in the gallery of the senate chamber to-day, and afterwards experienced those debilitating, irritable, and unpleasant sensations which are generated by imperfectly decarbonised blood.

Mr. Calhoun of South Carolina spoke two or three times. He seemed to be about sixty, tall and slender, and of a highly bilious and nervous temperament. The lower ridge of his forehead projects much,\* indicating great powers of observation, but the superior ridge devoted to reflection, is much smaller. Although the latter region looks narrow and retreating, yet there is enough of brain to give average power to his reflecting faculties. He has very large Self-Esteem and Firmness. The head indicates much self-will and determination: great powers of perseverance; a capacity for details, but little profound judgment.

I saw also Mr. Clay, but he did not speak. He is nearly bald. The anterior lobe of his brain is long and high, the middle perpendicular portion predominating. He seems to have large Acquisitiveness and considerable Ideality. In him also Self-Esteem and Firmness are large. The coronal region rises moderately high above Cautiousness and Causality, and the head altogether is high and long, rather than broad. It is of ample size. His temperament is nervous-sanguine, with a little bilious. He is tall and slender; and apparently between 60 and 70. This combination indicates great natural vivacity, readiness of apprehension, facility of illustration, with force of

\* Busts and portraits of all the public men whose heads I shall here describe, abound in the United States. As they are thus presented to public inspection, I do not consider myself as guilty of any indelicacy in introducing sketches of them into this work.

character; but there are two defects in the brain which will prevent such an individual from rising to the first class of minds. Causality and the moral organs do not present the highest degree of development. Men thus constituted do not sufficiently appreciate the influence of the moral sentiments as a natural power, nor do they trace the causes with which they deal, to their first elements, nor follow them to their remote consequences. Mr. Clay's head, however, bespeaks a man greatly above an average in point of mental power, and also practical in his tendencies; and therefore well adapted to the general American mind of the present day.

Here, also, sits Daniel Webster, looking like an intellectual giant among the senators. His enormous anterior lobe, and generally large head, reinforced by large lungs, mark him as a natural leader; but his reflective organs are too much developed in proportion to his Individuality to render his eloquence equally popular with that of Henry Clay. Mr. Webster needs a great subject, involving a profound principle and important consequences, before his strength can be called forth. Give him these, and he will rise to the highest eminence as a pleader and a statesman; but his intellect is too profound and comprehensive to be fully appreciated by the people. On seeing the man, therefore, I am not surprised at a circumstance which I have remarked, that, while Mr. Webster is regarded by a few as *the* great political character of the United States, Mr. Clay has at least a hundred devoted followers for each one of Mr. Webster's admirers. Webster, however, like Burke, will be quoted for the depth of principle and wisdom involved in his speeches, when the more fascinating but less profound orations of Mr. Clay have sunk into oblivion.

I heard Mr. Cuthbert, senator for Georgia, make a long speech on a bill for preventing the officers of government from interfering in elections. He is a slow and forcible, but not a refined speaker.

The appearance of the members of the senate is favorable. With few exceptions, their brains, and especially the organs of the intellectual faculties, are large, while there is a good average development of the organs of the moral sentiments. Collectively, they seemed to me to be a highly respectable and gifted body of men.

*The American Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.*—In the evening I attended a meeting of this society (incorporated by the legislature of New York) in the capitol. The Honorable Joseph Story, one of the judges of the supreme court, was called to the chair. After some appropriate and instructive remarks by the chairman, the Rev. John Proudfit of

New York stated the objects of the society. "It aims at the diffusion of pure and wholesome knowledge imbued with the spirit of Christianity." One great object of the society is the publication and general introduction of a National School Library. "It is estimated that there are at least 50,000 schools in the United States; and it is now generally, if not universally, admitted that every one should be supplied with a library." The society proposes the publication of a series of popular works upon all those branches of knowledge that are most interesting to the people; also, the publication of a popular "Journal of Useful Knowledge and of Public Instruction," congenial to the institutions of America. Another object is the preparation of text-books for schools, many of the books now in use being inferior and improper.

Mr. Abbott, the secretary of the society, next addressed the meeting, and exhibited a mass of statistics relative to the publication of newspapers, magazines, and books in England, in France, in Germany, and in the United States; and showed that the United States is one of the most reading communities in the world. He exhibited a case, containing 50 volumes of books already published, the price of which is \$20; mentioned that the cost of placing one similar library in every one of the 50,000 schools of the Union, would be \$1,000,000, and asked, "what sum will express the benefits?"

Towards the close of the proceedings, being requested to address the meeting, I offered a few remarks on the spur of the moment to the following effect: "It appears to me that the elementary principles of all the natural sciences, when contemplated in their primitive forms by superior minds, are simple, and that they constitute the native food of the intellect. I include in these sciences the knowledge of man's physical, moral, and intellectual nature, and the relations subsisting between them and external objects and beings. One advantage of communicating instruction in these truths to youth is, that it furnishes them with a solid basis on which to found their judgments. Under the old system, there was much of conflicting opinion; authority stood against authority, and in the phases of human life, chiefly intricacy and inscrutable evolutions were presented. The causes of good and evil did not appear, and the consequences of actions were scarcely traceable. A people invested with political power, whose education leaves them in such a condition, must, to a great extent, be exposed to the seduction of their passions, to be misled by imperfect views of their own interests, and even to the delusions of an excited imagination, leading them into wild speculations and impracticable adventures. An education in natural truth has the tendency to steady

the whole mind, and to place passion, imagination, and ambition, under the guidance of reason. America needs an education of this kind, because she has no controlling principle in her institutions except the religion, morality, and intelligence of the majority of her people.

“This society, in framing books for schools, will do well to ask themselves, as each volume is presented, ‘What does this book teach the people to *do*?’ It is good to *know*, but it is still better to *act*. In the present state of civilised society, the history of the past is not a guide to the future. We are in a state of *transition*, and it is of greater importance to furnish sound, practical principles for the future, than to load the memory with too minute a knowledge of the past. The pages of history are useful chiefly as charts, indicating the shoals on which human happiness has been shipwrecked. We must chalk out new and better lines to direct our future movements. It is extremely difficult to frame books embodying scientific principles, and applying them to practical purposes; but in your country, where the law excludes works on theology from your schools, this object must be accomplished before a truly valuable library of secular school-books can be created.” The object of the meeting was to commend the society and its works to the consideration and support of the Union, and to induce the representatives from the different states to make known the merits of its library in their several districts. The attendance was large, and the proceedings were interesting. They were subsequently reported in the “Christian Statesman,” from which I have extracted the foregoing remarks, as a short specimen of the terms in which I generally addressed American audiences. The library proposed by this society will enter the field as a rival to that now preparing by Messrs. Marsh, Capen, Lyon and Webb, of Boston, under the superintendence of the Board of Education of Massachusetts; but there is scope enough for both in the vast territories of the United States.

The hall of the Supreme Court, in which the meeting was held, was destitute of ventilation, and I suffered severely for several hours after leaving it from the effects of bad air. On mentioning this next day, I was told that several lawyers have fallen down dead on the spot while engaged in the most animated pleadings in this hall, and that, although apoplexy was assigned as the cause, some medical men, who knew the state of the atmosphere, had expressed an opinion that the catastrophes were probably hastened, if not caused, by asphyxia. The late arrangements by Dr. David B. Reid for ventilating the British houses of parliament are well known here; but no person has yet proposed to adopt them, or any other means, for the pre-



servation of life and health in the public chambers and apartments of the capitol.

Feb. 21. Therm. 43°. The weather to-day is beautiful, and gives indications of the approach of spring. *The Senate.—The Sub-Treasury Bill.*—I heard part of the debate on a bill for regulating the office of treasurer, and more effectually preserving the public money in the hands of the officers and agents of government; but none of the speeches was particularly interesting. This subject has excited a great deal of discussion in the public prints. There have been great embezzlements of public money by the officers of government in various departments of the United States; and also losses and embarrassments arising from its having been deposited, until needed, in banks in different states of the Union, many of which have embarked in large speculations with the government treasure, and when called on for repayment, either declared themselves bankrupt, or suspended cash payments. From the want, also, of an efficient machinery extending over the whole Union for effecting the exchange of bank-notes, the rates of exchange between the different parts of the country are constantly fluctuating, and are often ruinously high. When the general government deposits its funds in banks, it is subjected also to the loss and annoyance arising from this state of the monetary system. The democratic party, now in power, have attempted to pass a bill requiring the custom-house duties and the price of the public lands (the chief sources of the revenue of the general government,) to be paid in specie, and this treasure to be locked up by the public officers in strong boxes, and held subject to the orders of the government at Washington; and farther providing that any public servant who shall abstract any portion of it shall be held to have committed felony, and be punished with confinement as a common criminal at hard labor in the state prison.

Nothing seems to me to be more wanted than some such regulation as this to protect not only the public money, but the public morals; for the mode in which the revenue has of late years been distributed, has acted like a forcing stove applied to public cupidity, and tempted many men from the paths of virtue, who, under a better system, would have maintained their honor without a stain. But it has been, and continues to be, violently opposed by the whig party, who are regarded as the patrons of paper currency, and the "credit system" with which it is generally supposed that the prosperity of the United States is indissolubly bound up. The democrats have offered various modifications, such as introducing the demand for specie gradually, accepting for a time the notes of specie-paying banks, and other accommodations to the merchants; but the opposition is

as violent and inflexible as ever in regard to the payment of custom-house duties in gold and silver.

*Dr. Duncan and the House of Representatives.*—While these discussions were proceeding in the senate, an extremely stormy discussion arose in the house of representatives on a question of privilege. Mr. Prentiss, of Mississippi, offered the following resolutions:—

“Resolved, That this house proceed forthwith to inquire—

“1. Whether Alexander Duncan, a member of this house, from the state of Ohio, be the author of a certain publication or publications under his name, in relation to the proceedings of this house, and certain members thereof, published in the *Globe* newspaper of the 19th inst.

“2. Whether, by said publication or publications, the said Alexander Duncan has not been guilty of a violation of the privileges of this house, of an offence against its peace, dignity, and good order, and of such grossly indecent, ungentlemanly, disgraceful, and dishonorable misconduct, as renders him unworthy of his seat in this house, and justly liable to expulsion from the same.”

There was a call of the house, and 125 members answered to their names. After a great deal of furious disputation and vociferation, Mr. Thomson of South Carolina moved to substitute the following motion for that of Mr. Prentiss.

“Resolved, That Alexander Duncan, a member of this house, having avowed himself the author of an article published in the *Globe* of the 19th instant, grossly libellous of honorable members of this body, that the said Alexander Duncan be reprimanded by the speaker in the presence of the house.”

After this resolution was presented, the house adjourned, it being then 6 P. M., and the usual hour of adjournment being three.

*Dr. Sewall, the Anti-Phrenologist.*—Dr. Sewall, to whom, as already mentioned, I brought a letter, has been exceedingly attentive to us, notwithstanding the different views which we entertain on the subject of Phrenology. We met a large party of senators and members of the house of representatives at his residence this evening, and had much pleasant and interesting conversation. One of the gentlemen present took me by the button, and placing Dr. Sewall and me face to face, said, “Now we have got Phrenology and Anti-Phrenology fairly before us, let us hear you fight it out.” I replied that there was really nothing between us to fight about; that, if the views to which Dr. Sewall had given the name in his work were really Phrenology, I should be altogether on his side; that he had, in truth, created a phantom, called it Phrenology, and then knocked it

down, but that no Phrenologist took any interest in such a feat." Dr. Sewall asked if I said this seriously. I answered that I did so, and mentioned that Dr. George M'Clellan of Philadelphia, from whom I had brought a letter to him, had previously gone along with him in his views, but now acknowledged publicly to his class, that it was not Phrenology which he had previously ridiculed, but erroneous conceptions of his own regarding it; and that he had informed me that he had stated as much in his letter to him (Dr. Sewall). "Then," added Dr. Sewall, "I suppose that I must revise my opinions. They are not unalterable, like the laws of the Medes and the Persians." And here the conversation terminated, to the disappointment, perhaps, of some of the members of Congress, who would have enjoyed a "set to" between us considerably. I shall have occasion, at a subsequent time, to mention how far Dr. Sewall profited by the revisal of his opinions, which he here indicated as possible.

*Ex-President Adams.*—I was introduced by Dr. Sewall to the Ex-President, Mr. John Quincy Adams, who was one of his distinguished guests; and was just entering into conversation with him, when a young Scotch lady, overjoyed at hearing, at so great a distance from home, the accents of the Land of Cakes, placed herself between him and me, and poured forth such a volume of questions about Scotland and Scots people, that the patience of Mr. Adams was exhausted. I attempted, by remarks made to him past her shoulder, to retain him, but in vain. He turned off and went to another part of the room, where a circle of admirers was formed around him, which I was never able subsequently to penetrate.

Mr. Adams, after having been President of the United States, now sits in the house of representatives as one of the members for Massachusetts, a position which appears to me to be in every respect consistent with republican principles, and perfectly compatible with the dignity of his previous office. A real patriot is ready to serve his country in any station in which his talents may be useful, and there is true magnanimity in descending at his country's call from the station of supreme power to that of an ordinary representative.

Numerous busts of him are published, but I doubted their accuracy, for I was disappointed in the development of his head; but I now see that they are correct. He is stoutly made, and his temperament is sanguine-nervous bilious, giving him great activity and power of enduring fatigue. His brain is large: The base of it is large, particularly Combativeness and Destructiveness. Self-Esteem and Firmness are very large; Acquisitiveness and Benevolence large; Veneration and Conscientiousness full. The anterior lobe is of considerable size, although not large in

proportion to the regions of the propensities and sentiments. This indicates a man of impulse, rather than of clear, sound, and consistent judgment. His organs of the observing faculties, however, particularly those of Individuality, are well developed, but they are larger than those of reflection, giving rise to talents for observation, for accumulating knowledge, and for producing it when required; but without a corresponding power of penetrating to the principles of things, and tracing consistently distant consequences. With much kindness of disposition, and stubborn independence of character, the head indicates a liability to heat of temper, and to occasional obstinacy; also, a deficiency in tact, and a difficulty in preserving a continued consistency; the latter imperfection arising not from any tendency to wavering in his dispositions, but from a limited intellectual capacity to perceive fine and distant relations, combined with a self-confidence which will rarely allow him to doubt the soundness of his own inductions.

Most of the Presidents of the United States are said to have injured their private fortunes, by the expenses of office, except Mr. John Quincy Adams. He is spoken of as an economist, who spent what the government allowed him, but no more. The small pay allowed to American functionaries is attended with some evils. Only men of large fortune, of whom there are not yet a great number in the United States, or men in whom ambition is more powerful than prudence, are likely to become candidates for public offices. The latter are the very men whom the people should avoid as public servants; for a democracy, above all other governments, needs men of prudence and of incorruptible integrity to conduct its affairs. A system of government which has the natural tendency to elevate imprudent and ambitious men to power, may be designated as a hotbed to generate jobbers and speculators. I hear it stated, also, that the foreign ministers of the United States are often ruined by the extra expense entailed on them by their office. "The pay of ministers plenipotentiary is \$9000 per annum as salary, besides \$9000 for outfit. Chargés d'affaires receive \$4500 per annum, and secretaries of legation \$2000.\* I am told that some of the members of Congress contrive to save four or five hundred dollars out of their own pay during the session in Washington, and would regard any man as an extravagant waster of the public money who should propose an increase of salaries.

Feb. 22. Ther. 42°. *Dr. Duncan.*—The debate on the motions to expel or reprimand Dr. Duncan was resumed this morning, and finally the resolutions moved by Mr. Prentiss were

\* American Almanac.

“laid on the table,” which means that nothing was done with them. A vote of two-thirds of the members is necessary for expulsion: this could not be carried, and nobody cares for a “reprimand” from the chair. The only alternatives left were “laying on the table” or exculpation, and the former was preferred.

I have introduced this discussion chiefly for the sake of the following remarks:—I heard the whole subject extensively discussed by American gentlemen at the public table in Washington, and subsequently in the railroad cars on the way to Baltimore; and the result was generally approved of, on the ground, expressly stated, that the *rifle* is the only method of settling such disputes. Some few persons lifted up their voices against this sentiment, but they were the minority. While such a state of feeling prevails, the laws recently enacted by Congress, and many of the states, against duelling, must remain nearly a dead letter. One effect which attends the meeting of Congress in Washington is injurious. It withdraws these fierce legislators from the wholesome influence of a more humane public opinion, which would reach them in the larger cities. In Washington they constitute themselves society, and give the tone to opinion.

*Petitions against Slavery.*—The ingenuity and perseverance of the abolitionists have already discovered an antidote, to some extent, to the resolution of Congress that their petitions should not be received.(a) They continued to present petitions as if no such resolution existed, and take care that the presentment be reported in the newspapers. The “Daily National Intelligencer” contains a list, extending to four columns of close small type, of petitions “handed to the clerk” of the House of Representatives on the 18th of February, the great majority of which relate to the abolition of slavery or the right of petitioning. The list contains the *name* of the *first* person who subscribes each petition, and the *number* of the other subscribers, and specifies briefly what they pray for.

*General Washington's Birthday.*—This morning the great guns at the navy yard, a short distance from the city, were fired to celebrate Washington's birthday. In the evening we attended a grand national ball given in honor of the day. The President

(a) Received these petitions always are, but not acted on. Before they are laid on the table, the House must have heard from the members presenting them, their purport, and the place and persons whence they emanate. Without some such provision as that made, it would be impossible for Congress to get through the business of the nation. The right of petition implies at least a respectful tone on the part of the petitioners; but, at any rate, a *compulsory* reception by the parties petitioned, especially if these latter are abused by every epithet which can designate them as the most odious and abhorrent to our nature.

of the United States, and all the foreign ministers, attended; the latter in their official costumes. Much of the youth and beauty of the city were assembled. The President entered about ten o'clock, leaning on the arms of two stewards of the ball. He wore no costume, and was attended by no insignia of office. The dancing, however, was suspended, and he walked up the middle of the floor between a double row of the company, of all ages and both sexes, who formed a way for him. They bowed, and he returned the compliment; but not a sound was uttered. The band played "Hail! Columbia." He ascended a platform at the upper end of the room, which was free to all, and on which many ladies and gentlemen were already standing. He then mingled with the company as an ordinary visitor.

The young ladies took the lead at the ball; but I was assured that ladies, however young, gay, beautiful, and accomplished, after being married, are no longer recognised as constituent elements of a ball in the city of Washington. A pretty and engaging lady of nineteen, who has been married for one year, mentioned to me, that while in the single state she remorselessly assisted in deleting the names of her acquaintances from the ball lists as soon as they were wedded, and never dreamt that she was inflicting any hardship on them; but that now she considers it rather hard to be cut off at her age, when her taste for gaiety is yet fresh and unsatisfied, from all active participation in these scenes. There is little *retenue* or shyness in the youthful fair in the ball-room. They act as if the floor belonged to them and their "beaux" (their own expression for young gentlemen); and if the time allowed to them for gaiety before marriage be short, they certainly make the best use of it while it lasts. There is much beauty and amiability, but their forms are fragile, and indicate liability to premature decay.

Opinion seems to be unanimous, that no perceptible evils result from the freedom with which young ladies conduct themselves in the festive parties of the United States. The means of providing for a family are so easily acquired, that most of the men contract marriage at an early age, and seductions are extremely rare. We are told, also, that the young ladies in general display great tact and discrimination in their selection of partners, and very rarely commit themselves to imprudent or unprincipled characters.

*The Negro Brain.*—In the Negroes whom we have seen in this city, the average size of the brain is less than the average size in the free Negroes of New York and Pennsylvania. Here the Negroes are chiefly slaves, and in some of them the brain is so small, that their mental powers must be feeble indeed. It is a reasonable inference, that the greater exercise of the mental

faculties in freedom has caused the brain to increase in size; for it is a general rule in physiology, that wholesome exercise favors the development of all organs. But I fear that another reason may, to some extent, be assigned for the difference, namely, that the condition of the free Negroes, when they come into competition with the whites, is so unfavorable, that those of them in whom the brain is deficient in size, and the mental faculties weak, are overwhelmed with difficulties, and die out, and only the most vigorously constituted are able to maintain their position; and hence, that in the free states we see the highest specimens of the race.(a)

Feb. 23. Ther. 40°. *Journey from Washington to Philadelphia.*—We left Washington at six in the morning by the railroad, arrived at Baltimore at half-past eight, breakfasted, and started at nine by the railroad for Philadelphia. The axle of the baggage wagon broke, and we were detained for two hours. Nothing could exceed the good humor with which the passengers submitted to the loss of time while the luggage was transferred into the passengers' cars. The rough treatment, however, which the baggage itself sustained in the act of transference was very reprehensible. The trunks and packages were thrown about, and dashed against each other on the ground most recklessly, yet this is one of the best managed railroads in the Union. Mr. Newkirk, the President of this company told me that in engaging all the men employed by the railway company, it is stipulated that they shall practise habitual temperance, and if their breath even shall at any time be observed to smell of intoxicating liquor, although they may be perfectly sober, this shall be regarded as a voluntary resignation of their places; and that, by rigidly acting on these stipulations, no serious accident has occurred since the railway was opened in 1838. Urgent solicitations are often made to him to overlook one transgression, and the most positive assurances given of future good conduct, but he meets all such applications by reminding the petitioner of the rule: "When you put the liquor to your head, you knew that by doing so *you resigned* your situation. You were *then sober*, and therefore resigned deliberately; and it is inconsistent to solicit my consent to your remaining after you have done so. I accept your resignation, and you must go." We arrived in Philadelphia at 6 P. M.

Feb. 24. Ther. 41°. "*How do you like our country?*"—Mr. Charles Matthews has announced a book on the United

(a) Elementary civilisation, even without freedom, gives a relatively larger brain to the Negro, compared with the African or those first enslaved. But in observations of this nature, we should be aware of the great differences in cerebral development among the different native tribes in Africa.

States, bearing the title, "How do you like our country?" This is a very common question, varied sometimes in this fashion, "How does Boston impress you?" It is generally the first question put, and it is embarrassing to a stranger, because it will often force him to give an answer that will do violence to the feelings either of the querist or of himself, unless he deliver a long discourse expressive of modified likes and dislikes. By this question, however, the Americans in general mean nothing more than an invitation to conversation, as we do in England by the observation, "This is pleasant weather," or the question, "How far have you travelled to-day?"

Feb. 25. Ther. 41°. *Wilmington, Delaware.*—In the interval between my first and second courses of lectures in Philadelphia, I was solicited to deliver three lectures on education in Wilmington, the chief town of the State of Delaware: it contains 8000 inhabitants, at the distance of twenty-eight miles from Philadelphia, on the line of the Baltimore railway. Thither I proceeded this day at 3 P. M. We were forced to wait a full hour before leaving the station on the right bank of the Schuylkill, because the train from Baltimore had not arrived, and there being only one track of rails, we could not pass it. The most perfect good humor prevailed among the passengers during the detention. In the cars I have repeatedly met people of color travelling as passengers, and saw no indignity offered to them. Wilmington enjoys a supply of water raised from the Brandywine river by force-pumps, and distributed in pipes through the town. It has one street paved; but the others present beds of unredeemed mud ankle deep. Mr. Gilpin, from whom I received great kindness, carries on an extensive manufacture of writing-paper in the neighborhood of the town, from fine linen rags exclusively, and he was the first to introduce machinery into this branch. Much of the American paper is made from cotton, and is not durable. Bank-notes are made from *new* Russia duck, and it is the newness of the linen that renders them so tough.

*State-Lotteries.*—Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, have abolished State-lotteries, and prohibited the sale of tickets for the lotteries of other states. Delaware, Maryland, and the district of Columbia, continue to patronise them as well as slavery.



## CHAPTER XII.

Phrenology—The Maine Boundary—War with England—The Universalists—*Morus Multicaulis*: American Silk—Wilmington: Lectures on Education—The Bad Health of the American Women—Supremacy of the Law: the Grand Juries—The Firemen—Governor Porter and the Banks—The Maine War—Mr. Espy's Theory of Storms—Workmen's Convention—American Roads—The Friends' Lunatic Asylum at Frankford—Education among the Society of Friends—Animal Magnetism—The Organ of Coloring—War with England—Political Economy—Ship Launch—Advantages of Training—Unitarianism in Philadelphia—Female Delicacy—Lynch Law—Spring—Dr. Morton's "*Crania Americana*"—Fires—Phrenology—Difficulty of Describing Events—Rate of Wages—Presbyterian Church Case—Dickinson College—Carlisle—Infidelity in the United States.

1839.

MARCH 2. *Phrenology*.—I commenced my second course of lectures in Philadelphia this evening in the Musical Fund Hall. The attendance was 342, of whom a large proportion were "Friends," both orthodox and Hicksites. Many of those who attended the first course have subscribed also for this one.

*The Maine Boundary.—War with England.*—On the 9th of February Mr. Van Buren presented to the house of representatives at Washington a report from the secretary of state, with the relative documents, regarding the dispute with England about the Maine boundary; and on the 1st of March both houses of Congress were engaged from noon till midnight in discussing the subject, and finally passed a bill to authorise the President to engage 50,000 volunteers, and take other measures of a warlike character, to support the Governor of Maine. Mr. Webster, on whose cool judgment great reliance is placed, is reported to have said in his speech in the senate, that "if England did not settle this matter by the 4th of July next, the disputed territory should be seized by the United States."

The effect of these discussions on the public mind has been very striking. In every circle into which we enter, almost every voice is raised for war. The battles, both by land and sea, in which the Americans have been victorious over the British, are fought over again in the newspapers; and if one were to judge from the tone of the public mind, war would appear inevitable.

Amidst this excitement, however, a few individuals of advanced age and experience may be met with, who, in private conversation, strongly deprecate hostilities; but they regard the popular current of opinion as too strong to be at present stemmed with success.

The opinion is generally entertained in Britain, that the Americans are so intensely devoted to gain, and so averse to taxation, that they are not a warlike nation; but my conviction is different. The history of their country, which, in one form or another, constitutes the staple of their instruction at school, records heart-stirring adventures of their ancestors in their contests with the Indians, and afterwards many successful battles in the cause of freedom when they fought for their own independence. Next comes the war with Britain in 1813, in which the existing generation boasts of many victories. All these achievements are described in the most fervid language, and every battle in which the Americans were victorious is illustrated by engravings or cuts, and celebrated in songs. In the hotels, and in innumerable private houses, pictures representing their triumphs by sea and lands adorn the walls; the panels of some of their stage-coaches are ornamented with representations of their frigates capturing their British antagonists; in short, in the United States, the mind of each generation is rendered familiar with tales of war, and excited by their stirring influence from the first dawn of reason till manhood. To these causes of martial incitements, may be added, as by no means ineffective, the Fourth of July orations and toasts at militia musters.

Nor are those seeds sown on a barren soil. The Americans inherit the cerebral organization of the three British nations, in whom the organs of Combativeness, Destructiveness, Self-Esteem, and Firmness, the elements of pugnacity and warlike adventure, are largely developed. In them this endowment is accompanied by a restless activity of mind, which finds natural and agreeable vent in war, and by a degree of intelligence which renders them capable equally of individual enterprise and of combination in action. Add to all these the influence of extreme youth, and the belligerent spirit of this people is easily accounted for. In mentioning their extreme youth, I do not refer to their short national existence of only sixty-three years, since the 4th of July 1776, but to the extraordinary proportion of young persons in their population. It is well known that the population of the United States doubles every twenty-five years by natural increase alone, and every twenty-three years when assisted by immigration; but I have not observed that any just appreciation has been made by travellers of the influence of this fact on the character of the people. Nearly three generations are on the

field at the same time, and as nearly every male, on arriving at twenty-one years of age, has a vote, the preponderating influence of the young on the national resolves is very striking. From attending their public political meetings, my conviction is, that the majority of their voters are under thirty-five or thirty-six years of age. Here, then, we have a people of naturally pugnacious dispositions, reared in the admiration of warlike deeds, imperfectly instructed in the principles on which the real greatness of nations is founded, possessed of much mental activity, impelled by all the fervor of youth, and unrestrained by experience. It would be matter of surprise if they were not predisposed to rush into a contest, especially with Britain, whom they still regard as their hereditary foe.

Fortunately, however, for the people, and for the interests of civilization throughout the world, there are numerous and strong impediments to the gratification of their warlike propensities. Their actual pursuits are all pacific; they live in plenty, and suffer no grievances except those which flow from their own errors, and which they have the power to remove; they have no warlike neighbors to threaten their frontiers; and the constitutions of the general government, and of the several states, leave the executive power so feeble, that it can only add to its own embarrassments by engaging in hostilities. The American standing army consists of only 12,539 men of all arms and all ranks, while its corps of militia are altogether unadapted to aggressive warfare. The nation, therefore, has no force, except seven line-of-battle ships, twelve frigates, and twenty sloops of war (exclusive of those on the stocks,) with which to maintain a war of aggression. So thoroughly inefficient was the militia found to be in the last war, except as a defensive force, that the general government resorted to the expedient of engaging volunteers; and on the present occasion, congress has authorised the raising of 50,000 men on the same terms. Fifty thousand volunteers may not appear to be a very formidable host to those who do not know the American people; but it would probably be found to consist of tough materials. A proclamation for the enlistment of such a force, would call forth that number of young, ardent, enthusiastic men, with heads full of fancies about glory, and temperaments burning for the gratifications arising from enterprise and danger. A few months would suffice to confer on them the advantages of discipline, and they would then closely resemble the hosts of excited Frenchmen whom Napoleon led to the easy conquest of Italy and Germany. It is a blessing to the civilised world that so many impediments exist to this class of men attaining the ascendancy in the national councils.

March 3. Therm. 31°. *The Universalists*.—This day I heard the Rev. Mr. Thomas, a universalist minister, preach on the text “Charity suffereth long,” &c. The inscription in front of the pulpit is “God is Love.” He described one great difference between the character of God, as revealed in the New Testament, and that of the gods of the Greeks and Romans, to consist in the “Love” of the God of the Christians. The heathen deities were personifications of “power,” much resembling the devil of some Christian sects (“in whose existence,” said he, “we do not believe, regarding him as a mere phantom of the imagination.”) The discourse was very able, well composed, and delivered from short notes. The congregation presented that respectable appearance in point of dress and deportment which characterises the American churches in general; but it was not so numerous as some others.

The universalists are stated, in the American Almanac, to have 653 congregations or churches, 317 ministers, and 600,000 people, in the Union. They believe in universal salvation; but in applying this doctrine they differ among themselves. Dr. Chauncy of Boston, who is regarded as a high authority among them, in his work on “*The salvation of all men*,” lays it down as a rule that those individuals who in this life, have been enabled, by the Son of God, to make great attainments in virtue, shall, in the next, enter on the enjoyment of happiness immediately after death; while the incorrigibly wicked in this world will be “awfully miserable” hereafter, not to continue so for ever, but that they may be convinced of their folly, and recovered to a virtuous frame of mind. Another class of universalists follow Mr. Rely of England, and Mr. Murray of the United States, in admitting “no punishment for sin but what Christ suffered; but speak of a punishment which is consequent upon sin, as darkness, distress, and misery, which they assert are ever attendant upon transgression. But, as to know the true God and Jesus Christ is life eternal, and as all shall know him, from the least to the greatest, that knowledge or belief will consequently dispel or save from all the darkness, distress, and fear, which are attendant upon guilt and unbelief, and, being perfectly holy, we shall consequently be perfectly and eternally happy.”\*

I was informed by several individuals in different parts of the Union, that the universalists are making more progress among the common people than the unitarians; and that unitarianism, where it exists, attracts a larger proportion of the higher and better educated circles.

March 4. Ther. 21°. *Morus multicaulis*, *American silk*.—

\* Dictionary of all Religions, by Hannah Adams, fourth edition.

The Americans are at present laboring under an excitement about the cultivation of the mulberry tree, the rearing of silkworms, and the manufacture of silk. The newspapers teem with advertisements, announcing the sale of *morus multicaulis* trees in innumerable quantities; and many persons are reported to have realised handsome fortunes by rearing and selling them. To-day, I saw at Wilmington a waistcoat and pair of pantaloons made of American silk; and although the cultivators may be much further from success than they at present believe, it appears not improbable that, with their ingenuity and perseverance, they may ultimately succeed in adding silk to their other products.

*Wilmington.—Lectures on Education.*—I delivered my third lecture on education in the Lyceum at Wilmington this evening, which was attended by 170 persons of both sexes. Handsome resolutions approving of the lectures were passed and afterwards published.

At the close of the lecture, an old gentleman rose, and asked me whether there were not brains so deficient, that their owners had it not in their power to act according to the moral law? I had been told that, since my first lecture, there had been a grand debate in the Lyceum on the question whether phrenology leads to fatalism, and that this gentleman had opposed it, on the ground that it does lead to this result. This question was obviously calculated to furnish matter for more argument. In answer, I stated that, before one can judge of what any doctrine leads to, it is necessary to know the doctrine itself; that I had not lectured on Phrenology, but only on education, before the present audience, and, therefore, presumed that they were strangers to what Phrenology teaches; that in Philadelphia, after devoting twenty hours to the exposition of Phrenology, I had dedicated a large portion of one lecture to its connection with "moral responsibility;" and that, as I could not now recapitulate expositions given in these twenty hours, I hoped that the audience would excuse me for not entering on the results deducible from them. This was accepted as a sufficient reason for declining to answer the question.\*

March 5. Ther. 18°. In going to Wilmington yesterday, and returning from it to-day, I observed a considerable number of lambs newly dropped in the fields, with their mothers, also numbers of cattle out of doors. There is scarcely a tinge of green to be discovered in the grass. These animals are fed on hay and the leaves of Indian corn, which are saved in harvest,

\* In my work on Moral Philosophy, under the head of "Treatment of Criminals," I have discussed the question referred to in the text.

and are said to make good fodder. Autumn-sown wheat is now visible, but it looks dark, small, and sickly. No field-labor is going on, as the ground is deeply frozen.

March 8. Ther. 37°. *The Bad Health of the American Women.*—In the February number of the Southern Literary Messenger, Dr. Harvey Lindsley, of Washington city, makes the following remarks on this subject. I copy his own words, because I believe them to represent the facts correctly, and also because a similar description, if given by a European visiter, would be more likely to give offence than when it proceeds from an American physician.

“The remark,” says Dr. Lindsley, “has often been made by Europeans who have visited this country—and the melancholy truth has been confirmed by Americans who have travelled on the eastern continent—that American women suffer much more from ill health than those of other countries. My attention has for some time past been particularly directed to this subject; and I am convinced that the remark is undoubtedly true to an alarming extent, and that it is the duty of the medical profession to examine into its cause, and, if possible, to suggest and urge upon the public the appropriate remedies.

“Not only is the average health of our country-women much less robust than that enjoyed by corresponding classes in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain, but it is much more infirm than that of the other sex in our country;—I mean, after making due allowances for those diseases and afflictions peculiar to their situation and duties in society.

“With respect to their inferiority in point of vigor, strength, and robustness, to the women of England, as well as of the continent, I believe there is not one dissenting voice among those who have enjoyed the most ample opportunities for comparison, and whose attention has been attracted to the subject. The European has a much more florid and healthful complexion—a much more vigorous person—and is capable of enduring much more fatigue and exposure, and of performing much harder labor. The slender, and delicate, and fragile form—the pale, sallow, and waxen complexion—which are so common among us, are comparatively seldom seen abroad. The feats of pedestrianism, which are almost daily performed in England, even by ladies of rank and fortune, would appear almost incredible to our feeble and sedentary country-women. As an illustration of this remark, it is mentioned by a recent traveller, in his letters from England, that, while staying for a few days at the house of a friend in the interior of the country, it was proposed one morning that the family, including the ladies, should make a call on another friend, who lived about five miles distant. They

accordingly started on foot, without any remark being made as to the mode of locomotion, as if it were an ordinary occurrence, and, on their way home, were so little fatigued as to be desirous of making a digression of some two or three miles, in order to exhibit some picturesque view, which they thought might be interesting to their guest, as a stranger. Such a pedestrian excursion by an American woman would be an event to be talked of for life!

“That the females of our country are likewise much greater sufferers from ill health than our sex, is a fact which the daily observation of medical men has abundant opportunity of confirming, and a class of diseases, from which they suffer most, are precisely those which we would suppose would be produced by the peculiar causes operating upon them. They are derangements of the digestive and nervous apparatus. Every physician of much experience must have been struck with the fearful extent and obstinate nature of these affections—always difficult to remedy, and frequently even to alleviate; and they seem confined almost exclusively to females and men of sedentary habits. They are always productive of great and protracted suffering.”

The American ladies generally ascribe their maladies to the very variable climate of their country. This may have some influence; but their own habits appear to me to contribute much more to their sufferings. They rarely walk abroad for the sake of fresh air and exercise.<sup>(a)</sup> In general, they live and sleep in ill-aired apartments. Their duties press constantly on their minds, and they do not give sufficient effect to the maxim, that cheerful amusement and variety of occupation are greatly conducive to health. They do not properly regulate their diet; pies, pastry, and animal food, are consumed in quantities too abundant for a sedentary life; and baths and ablutions are too rarely used. Almost every family house in Philadelphia, built within these fifteen years, has a bath; but many of the ladies either do not use them, or, from some misapprehension of their influence, do not remain long enough in them to enjoy their full benefit. We met with a married lady in one of the American cities, whose florid and healthy color attracted my attention;

(a) The author of course means that they rarely take systematic and daily exercise abroad, which ought to be inculcated on them as a moral duty, as on its regular performance will greatly depend the easy and successful discharge of their other duties, both moral and religious. Asperity and censoriousness, not uncommon foibles of many professing Christians, would be much less common if these persons communed more with their Maker in the open air, and imbibed, as it were, cheerfulness, while inhaling this necessary support of health and well being.

and, on my remarking it, she mentioned, that in all seasons she slept with her bed-room window partially open. We have followed the same practice since our arrival in the United States, and also walked abroad every day, however cold, and with great advantage to health.

It is not for want of knowledge that the American ladies suffer so much inconvenience from bad health. The works of Dr. John Bell, before mentioned, are highly practical, and in extensive circulation, as are also Dr. A. Combe's *Physiology applied to Health and Education*, and many similar books. Nay, these works are taught in female academies. But there is a wide interval between knowledge and practice. In one female seminary in which Dr. Combe's "*Physiology*" (with questions appended to the chapters) is used as a class-book, its rules appeared to me to be violated in the very act of teaching them; that is to say, the brains of the young ladies were strained by excessive tasks, and by undue excitement of the spirit of emulation. The distinction between *instructing* and *training* is still imperfectly understood, both in the United States and in Great Britain. These young ladies were taught to repeat the laws of health, but they were not trained to carry them into practice in their daily habits. Apparently, their leading objects in learning them were, to be able to show off their knowledge at the public examinations, to gain prizes, and to establish their reputation for superior talents. The pupils of a distinguished teacher in Edinburgh used to astonish the public by the great extent, accuracy, and readiness of their knowledge of history, exhibited at their annual examinations; but the admiration of their exploits diminished when the secret of his teaching was known. Questions were printed at the end of each chapter, and in reading the work he desired them to mark certain words in the text with a pencil; and added that these constituted the answers to the questions, which they must learn to repeat promptly whenever the questions were asked. They did so; but their knowledge was not an intellectual conception of the historical events, but resulted from a mere parrot-like exercise of verbal memory, and faded as rapidly as it was acquired. I fear that, in the United States, the laws of health are still taught in a somewhat similar manner.

One general defect in the mental condition of all of us is, that in ten instances we act from impulse and habit for once that we do so from reflection. This arises from imperfect training in youth. Our impulsive faculties, being early developed, and possessing great natural energy, are constantly liable to err, and to lead us into evil, when not controlled and directed by enlightened intellect. One object, therefore, in teaching the young,



should be to *communicate knowledge*, and another to *train* the propensities and sentiments to submit to the control of the intellect. This last department of education is greatly neglected, except in the infant schools conducted on Mr. Wilderspin's principles. In the United States, training is needed above all things; for the public institutions of the country, in fostering a spirit of independence, encourage the young to rely on themselves; in other words, to act from the impulsive elements of their nature, much more than from reflection. Reflection, when founded on knowledge, produces habits of self-denial, self-restraint, and obedience. The want of this practical training and discipline is seen in the males, in the recklessness with which they dash into speculation and adventure, pursuing their leading impulses at all hazards; and in the females, in the pertinacity with which they adhere to practices which they know to be injurious to health, and in their deficiency of mental resolution to submit to the temporary sufferings which always accompany a change of evil habits.

If the conductors of the female seminaries would require their pupils to recapitulate, once a-week, what they *do* in obedience to the laws of health, and *train* them for two or three years to the practice of these laws, they would form habits that would last during life, and thus render the knowledge which they communicate effectual.

March 9. Ther. 35°. *Supremacy of the Law: The Grand Jury.*—Judge Bouvier has just delivered an excellent charge to the Grand Jury. The following extracts represent faithfully the spirit in which the judges in the United States generally enforce the claims of the law on the people.

“ Besides finding the bills which are prepared by the attorney-general and sent to you, you have the right, and it is your duty, to present such offences and offenders as you may know of your own knowledge, or of which proof has been given to you. Sometimes grand juries present nuisances in classes, as gambling-houses, tipping-houses, and the like. This may be well enough, gentlemen, and doubtless such presentments have a good effect in some degree. But if such things are known to exist, it is much better to present the offender and the offence individually. In the generality of the charge, the heinousness of the crime is indistinctly felt or not perceived. One presentment of one such offence, and the name of the offender, followed by a conviction, would have more terror in it to such evil doers than a thousand such fruitless presentments.

“ Our exertions to enforce obedience to the laws cannot be too great. The law must reign supreme, or anarchy have the sway. Justice, order, and right must be sustained, or rapine

and murder take their place: we have no middle ground, and it is for us to say, whether our noble institutions, justly our pride, and the admiration of the world, are to be sacrificed to the spirit which has manifested itself in so many places, of disregarding the law, and of having recourse to brute force, to redress real or imaginary wrongs. We censure, very justly, those foreign travellers, who, after sharing our hospitality, return to their own country, and publish their views of American manners in such a way as to caricature rather than to paint them. Gentlemen, let us not give them any occasion or apparent justification for such slanders, by a disregard of the laws which we have ourselves made. Upon you depends whether the laws shall be properly enforced; use every exertion, then, to punish its violators; bring all who have been guilty to punishment, and particularly those who make it their business to ensnare others into crime.

“I regret to say, that, with all the exertions which our very vigilant mayors and the police magistrates in the districts make, still the laws are, in many respects, as a dead letter. The fault is not in the officers, for they do all in their power, but in the system, which is not sufficiently energetic to prevent the habitual commission of crime. The laws should not be placed on the statute-book as a dead letter, to be brought into action only when accident may lead to detection, perhaps one of a thousand cases, but be constantly active, ready to apply a remedy to every evil felt by society. Who, that looks around, but must admit the laws relating to the sale of spirituous liquors are daily, hourly violated, not in one or two places only, but throughout the city and county of Philadelphia? And yet the mayor of the city and mayor of the northern liberties, and the police magistrates of the districts, have but little power, and less means, to break up these dens of iniquity. The same observations may be made in regard to gaming-houses and lottery-offices, which, though not so numerous, no doubt exist to a great extent, as is evident by the casual discovery occasionally made of some of them.”

I have often heard the judges complain of the want of power in the law, and of the deficiency of the means for executing it, as evils which characterise their institutions. The remark of Aristotle in his *Politics*, that the great danger to democracies lies in the reluctance of the people to part with as much power as is necessary to restrain their own excesses, seems to be recognised by them as too applicable to this country.\* Yet a democracy,

\* Aristotle's words are these. Speaking of the establishment of that form of democracy in which the public business is performed by paid functionaries, he says, "Above all, demagogues must never cease to convince the people that, under their favorite democracy, they will be at liberty to live as they list; this will procure for them the assistance of the majority: for

with such institutions as those of the United States, can have no good grounds for withholding power from their judges and magistrates; because these officers are completely under the control of the people. The laws may be altered, and the judges and magistrates removed, at the will of the people; and it is the interest of all that order should be preserved and property protected. The judges, however, have a natural desire to increase the power of the law and of the magistrates, just as the clergy have to augment the influence of the church; and perhaps it is also a safe rule for them to depict, in strong colors, its defects and the weakness of its executive department, in order to induce the public to lend a vigorous support to both; but, on the whole, it appears to me that life, property, and social order, are fully more secure than a stranger, judging from the charges and conversations of some of the judges, would infer.

*The Firemen.*—I was amused to-day to see a troop of boys training themselves, in their play, to be future firemen. They had a miniature carriage of a fire-engine, named "Hero," with ropes attached to it, and one of their own number sat on it and represented the engine. They ran round Franklin Square, braying through a tin trumpet, and uttering many unearthly sounds, in excellent imitation of their seniors. The real firemen are all volunteers, and serve without pay; and it is thus that their numbers are recruited.

*Governor Porter and the Banks.*—On the 7th March, the lately elected democratic Governor of Pennsylvania sent a message to the senate and house of representatives, informing them that no offer had been made for a loan of \$1,200,000 wanted for the commonwealth, at 5 per cent. interest, payable half yearly, and redeemable at any time within twenty years from 1st July 1839. He ascribes the non-appearance of bidders to a combination among the banks. I am told that other reasons than this exist why nobody will lend the money: first, the annual expenses of the state, and the interest of its debt, exceed its revenue, and no proposal is made to raise taxes to cover the deficiency; and, secondly, the people are clamoring for war with England, where alone money can be obtained on the terms offered, and it is not expected that the English will be disposed to make loans which may possibly be employed in fighting against themselves.

*The Maine War.*—The engrossing topic of conversation continues to be the prospect of a war with England: it is unpopular

the greater part of mankind will always be better pleased to live licentious-ly, than to submit to the restraints of salutary discipline."—*Politics*, B. viii. *Gillies's Transl.* p. 469.

to doubt that it will take place. Nevertheless some of the wiser men have at length begun to operate on opinion in favor of peace. The first step has been to bring Mr. Webster into a right position. Mr. David B. Ogden, of New York, has addressed a letter to him, asking him for an explanation of his speech, recommending that the United States should seize the disputed territory on the 4th July next; and he has written an answer, mentioning that what he meant to say was only this—"That it was high time for the two governments to adjust this controversy;" that they should do every thing possible to accomplish this end amicably; but that, if they should unfortunately not succeed, "a time must come, of necessity, when the United States must perform that duty for themselves." He did not intend to say "that our government ought to take possession of the disputed territory on the 4th of *next* July," but some time or other when it could no longer be avoided. These letters have been published, and Mr. Webster's explanation, although regarded as a lame one in itself, is giving satisfaction, as the first step towards a sounder view of the interests of the country. Two reasons are assigned for the precipitate advocacy of a war which the printed report of Mr. Webster's speech contains: it is said by some persons that, by opposing the last war with England, Mr. Webster injured his popularity so deeply that it has never fully recovered, and that, by now leading the van in advocating another war, he hopes effectually to wipe off this stain from his reputation: by others it is affirmed that the warlike speech was made altogether without premeditation or design, and that it was inspired solely by champagne and the excitement which glowed on all sides around him. The bill authorising the enlistment of 50,000 men was passed by the senate in a session held after dinner; and I have been assured by one of the few senators who voted against it, that, but for that circumstance, it never would have passed at all. Some of the members had indulged in large potations before coming to the evening meeting, and they were all on fire for maintaining the national honor!

*Mr. Espy's Theory of Storms.*—This subject has excited much attention in Philadelphia, and the scientific men concur in expressing an opinion in favor of its essential truth. The following is a condensed abstract of Mr. Espy's principles:—

By ascertaining the dew-point, we discover the quantity of vapor which the air contains. Mr. Dalton, of Manchester, made this discovery. The following table exhibits the relation of the temperature to the quantity of vapor:—

| Dew-Point.   | Quantity of vapor. |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 32°, . . . . | $\frac{1}{40}$     |
| 52°, . . . . | $\frac{1}{70}$     |

|      |   |   |   |                      |
|------|---|---|---|----------------------|
| 73°, | . | . | . | $\frac{1}{6} \sigma$ |
| 80°, | . | . | . | $\frac{1}{4} \sigma$ |

The equilibrium of the air may become disturbed by heat or moisture below. Ascending columns or currents will then be formed. As they ascend, they will come under less pressure, and consequently expand. This expansion will produce one degree and a quarter of cold for every hundred yards of ascent. The dew-point will fall only one quarter of a degree for every hundred yards. Cloud will begin to form when the air rises as many hundred yards as the dew-point is below the air in degree. When the vapor condenses, it will give out the latent caloric into the air. This will prevent the air from cooling more than half as much as it would do in its farther ascent. Thus, the higher the air rises, the warmer will it be when compared to the air outside of the cloud at the same height. For every degree that it is warmer, it will be  $\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \sigma$  lighter than air at zero. Thus the barometer will fall under the cloud; the air will run in on all sides under the cloud, and upwards, with a velocity of 240 feet per second for a fall of one inch, and so on in proportion to the square root of the fall.

An application has been made to the legislature of Pennsylvania for a grant to defray the expense of an experiment, causing rain to fall by producing an ascending current of air by means of a great artificial fire. The petition was referred to a committee, and on 6th March, Mr. Smith, of Philadelphia, on their behalf, reported in favor of granting Mr. Espy "a sum equal to the expenses of making the experiment, if he shall cause it to rain over a territory of 1000 square miles; the sum of \$25,000 if he shall cause it to rain copiously over a territory of 5000 square miles; and the sum of \$50,000 if he shall cause it to rain copiously over a territory of 10,000 square miles, or in such quantities as shall keep the Ohio river navigable during the whole summer, from the city of Pittsburg to the Mississippi river; the larger sum in each case to exclude the smaller;" and the committee farther proposed, that the governor should be "authorised and required to appoint three impartial and competent persons to witness and judge of the said experiment, who shall, at the times and places appointed by the said James P. Espy, attend for that purpose; and upon such experiments being fully made and completed, the said persons shall certify to the governor the result thereof, and if the same shall be successful, the governor shall draw his warrant on the treasurer of the commonwealth in favor of the said James P. Espy, for such of the said sums as he shall be entitled to under this resolution."

The New York Evening Star objects to this report, because "the proposition savors of blasphemy!" Surely steamboats,

which not only sail without the wind, but even against it, must be moving masses of "blasphemy" in the eyes of the editor of the Star! As the "report" wears a ludicrous aspect, and as the subject is scientifically interesting, I present in the Appendix, No. VIII, a letter from Mr. Espy himself in explanation of his views.

*Working-men's Grievances.*—On the 7th of January last, the working-men held a convention, and appointed a committee of twelve of their number to deliberate on their condition and affairs, and to report. The address of the committee "to the working-men of the city and county of Philadelphia" has been published. In a country which enjoys an unlimited field for the profitable employment of its people; in which, consequently, labor is highly paid, and in which universal suffrage prevails, an exposition of the working-men's grievances may be regarded as a kind of psychological curiosity. The imagination is tasked to divine in what their sufferings can consist. Yet here is a manifesto which might almost literally be adopted by the Chartists of England, or the workmen of Lyons. "It is necessary," say the committee, "to restore the equilibrium to society which your indifference has permitted others to monopolise."—"We cannot, must not, disguise the fact, that other portions of the community have arrayed themselves against your interests, and, while you stand single and alone, and oppose with naked truth their unhallowed schemes, you are only exhausting your strength in an unequal and profitless contest."—"The committee cheerfully assent that the interests of the whole people are identical under our republican form of institutions; but this equality or reciprocity of rights is no longer regarded—the great principles which aroused the latent energies of freemen" "are now lost in corporate interest, which controls nearly all the avenues to wealth, absorbs the whole attention of the legislature, while it leaves you, who are the majority, in a state of abject servitude, and the fruits of your toil to be enjoyed by those who have obtained special grants from the legislature to retain the product which you have produced. We also admit, that no system can be introduced which will free, perhaps, a majority of the people from manual labor; but we do insist that a better system than the present, which inflicts upon them any perpetual toil and eternal poverty, can be devised. What argument can be adduced why a *more equal distribution of wealth should not be made?* Be not alarmed at the annunciation of an equal distribution of wealth, or rather the equal means of obtaining wealth. No surer index can be desired where overgrown wealth and luxury are enjoyed on one side, that squalid wretchedness and misery is the inevitable doom of the other; this is an unerring test, adapted to all ages and countries."

The reader probably expects the next sentence to contain a recommendation to spoil the rich, and divide their wealth among the poor; but the committee entertain other views. They proceed—"There is a natural *innate* repugnance to be found in us all of associating with those whom we consider not our equals in point of general intelligence—this should be the only distinction known in society. This feeling of superiority may be found in the higher walks of life as regards their own members." Remember, intelligence is a passport everywhere—commanding respect where aught else has failed." "*You are accused of wishing to level down society and appropriate to yourselves the proceeds of others' industry. Throw back the imputation with a vengeance, for you know that the mass are levelled almost below the common feelings of humanity, and your toil appropriated to fill other coffers.*"

"Do not retaliate." "You are for a system which *will level up instead of down.*" "Fellow working-men! The levelling system we speak of is a system of education which shall teach every child in the commonwealth his duty and interest as a citizen and freeman; working-men are now allowed to take but half a drink at the rippling rill as it flows beneath their feet and—and this, too, as a public charity.

"We speak not of the hackneyed system of education which is now the order of the day—of schools where the same prejudices are taught, and the same partial influences exist, as are found out of doors—of high schools which are said to be founded to carry out more perfectly the system of common schools, where the children of affluent parents are taken from private schools and placed in the common schools, barely sufficient time to have them become members, that they may be taken into the high schools in preference to those who have prepared themselves in the primary institutions, simply because they are more proficient and advanced in their studies; but we speak of a democratic republican education, which regards all the children as equals, and provides food and clothing during the period they are receiving an education to fit them as members of society and component parts of a free government; so when they shall arrive at maturity, and are thrown upon the world and their own resources, they may start equal in the race for the accumulation of wealth, or in pursuit of the honors of the government. *This is the levelling system we desire—the only equal distribution of wealth we ask.*

"No system, fellow working-men, will tend so directly to a more equal distribution of wealth as an equal and perfect system of education.

"Knowledge is power; the committee, therefore, exhort a

to bind up their resources, and let their exertions tend to one mighty and simultaneous effort for the accomplishment of this desired object.”

They recommend, *first*, The formation of trade societies and associations; *secondly*, The formation of united trade societies and associations; *thirdly*, The formation of a literary and scientific institute; *fourthly*, A joint-stock company for the erecting of a hall for the use of the united trade societies, associations, and institute. They add—“Let not the genius of our institutions, which is based upon the intelligence of the people, reproach you, or the award which posterity will accord to you, grate upon your consciences, as you turn a deaf ear to those imperative demands.

“Remember, fellow working-men, you have a responsible duty to perform, and unless you show a disposition to help yourselves, it will be difficult to make others believe your complaints are well grounded; and it may be a question, but one of immense magnitude, whether men, who have the power to redress their grievances, but will not apply it, deserve the sympathy or aid of a discerning public.

(Signed)

E. A. Penniman, of the coach-makers' society.

Samuel C. Thompson, cordwainers' society (men's branch.)

Wm. Gilmore, ditto (ladies' branch.)

E. Dallas, of the brush-makers' society.

Townsend Yeardsley, of the house-carpenters' society.

Thos. O'Neil, of the jewellers' society.

George G. Clark, of the house-painters' society.

John Botsford, of the bricklayers' society.

Samuel Sayer, of the tailors' society.

Thomas Steel of the curriers' society.

James J. Pierce, of the oak-coopers' society.

John Wright, of the cabinet-makers' society.—*Committee.*”

This document exhibits a striking combination of native talent, with deficiency in literary and philosophical education; and apparently both the composition and the scheme have emanated from a single mind. It is instructive, however, to observe the tendency of the human mind when left free, to appreciate knowledge and mental refinement. In the circumstances in which the working-men are placed in Pennsylvania, any other remedy for their grievances than the one recommended would have carried inherent absurdity in the face of it.

*American Roads.*—At this season, the roads are in their worst condition. A friend who has just come from Easton, fifty miles distant, in the stage, describes the road as composed of soft mud, nearly 18 inches deep, with alternate masses of



unthawed clay and large stones. A gentleman who heard this description said, that he saw an Italian music-master, whom he named, who had the top of his head bruised. He asked him if he had met with an accident. "I have only had it bruised," said he, "by its being constantly knocked against the top of the stage coming from Pittsburg." At the time when this was told, I thought it a facetious exaggeration; but within less than three months, I had the best reason for believing it to be literally true; for I had the crown of my own head severely beaten against the top of a stage coach in the western regions of the state of New York!

March 12. Therm. 33°. *The Friends' Lunatic Asylum at Frankford.*—We visited this institution, which contains sixty-six patients. The situation is favorable; and the house well adapted to the purpose, except that the apartments have no proper provision for ventilation. There are a garden and walks, and a circular railroad on which the patients move themselves in a car by turning a crank. But they decline to labor, and there is no moral force sufficient to induce them to give up their prejudices against it. They are not all Friends; but all belong to the middle classes of the community, and come chiefly from towns. These classes regard labor as mean, and the free institutions of America render compulsion inadmissible, even for a patient's good. I was told, that the average of insanity is higher among the Friends than among the general community. Two reasons were assigned for this fact; first, their doctrine of the workings of the Holy Spirit, and the inward light, their narrow circle of interests, and limited education, act unfavorably on minds predisposed to disease; secondly, they intermarry extensively within close degrees of consanguinity. This institution belongs to the Orthodox Friends.

*Education among the Society of Friends.*—Many individuals among both classes of Friends in Philadelphia are highly educated and intelligent, and are ardent promoters of moral and intellectual improvement; but the mass is represented as considerably deficient in educational attainments; and some of them, of no mean weight in their society, oppose every advance in education as a dangerous innovation. The young Friends, however, of both sexes, are in the course of discovering their deficiencies, and encourage and support those among their seniors who advocate a more liberal course of study. I am informed that my lectures constitute a subject of anxiety to some of the Orthodox Friends, whose prejudices prevent them from hearing them. Those who do attend feel no alarm; but the absent regard these as misled, and are of opinion that they themselves, who know nothing whatever of the subject, are the best judges

of its tendency. They have remonstrated with and prayed for some of my audience to induce them to withdraw, but without success. About one half of the present class is said to consist of Friends of both denominations. (a)

*Animal Magnetism.*—The following case was mentioned to me, separately, by at least half a dozen persons, some of them highly respectable physicians, and others ladies, who were present and saw the facts which they narrated. A young woman, a domestic servant, was severely afflicted by the tooth-ache, but was of such a nervous and sensitive constitution, that she never could summon courage to have her tooth extracted in the usual way. Dr. Mitchell, with her own consent, had her magnetised, and she fell into a profound magnetic sleep. A dentist who was in attendance extracted the tooth, and one of my informants said that she gave no symptoms of sensation, but another told me that she contracted her brows. She had no consciousness of blood trickling from the wound, but the magnetiser desired her to spit it out, and she did so. He restored her to consciousness, and she had no knowledge of having lost the tooth, till her at-

(a) The quiet and unostentatious manner in which the Friends carry out their plans for education, and the dread which their older and more experienced members entertain of the follies and vices, which are too often the concomitants of a collegiate course, have caused a general misapprehension, out of the Society, respecting their opinions and practice on the whole subject. It ought to be stated, in their favor, that the first grammar school in Philadelphia, was established by William Penn himself, and placed under the direction of a Quaker master: and that "The School Corporation," originated and maintained by the Friends, spends to the amount of twenty-five hundred dollars, annually, in the education of the youth who do not even belong to the Society. Part of the regular and official returns to the Monthly meetings, consist in a report of the number of children, and of their educational wants and facilities. One of the best selected libraries in the country, consisting of between three and four thousand volumes, is attached to the Arch street Meeting-house, and is open to all the members of the Society. There is another, consisting of twelve hundred volumes, and a reading room connected with it, at the corner of Fourth street and Apple Tree alley.

The dissatisfaction of the Friends with our common colleges, as not furnishing what they believe to be adequate instruction, is not manifested either by sullen opposition or critical blame, but in their erection and maintenance of schools and academies in which the children of the Society have opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of belles lettres and practical science, in addition to the common elements of an English education. It will be sufficient to mention in proof of this assertion, the institution at Haverford, eight miles from Philadelphia, and that at West Town, twenty miles from the city.

As respects the literary zeal displayed by the adult members of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, it is admitted by all, that they furnish a fair proportion of the auditory of public lecturers on scientific subjects and on sound literature.

tention was drawn to the fact. She was again magnetised, and the dentist punched out other three stumps of old teeth without her once moving a muscle. About thirty ladies and gentlemen were present, many of them unbelievers in animal magnetism, and most of whom were satisfied that in this instance deception was impossible.

*The Organ of Coloring.*—This evening I met with a gentleman in whom the organ of coloring is very deficient, and whose powers of perceiving colors are equally feeble. He appreciates blue and green best, but often confounds even them. He has had the names inscribed on a number of colors, and when he wishes to find out the color of any object, he places them beside it, and when it makes the same impression on his mind with one of them, he judges that it is of the color inscribed on that piece. This is the way in which I understood his statement; but from his extreme deficiency in all conceptions about colors, his explanations were to me nearly unintelligible. He has no other defect in his sight.

March 14. Therm. 38°. *War with England.*—This subject continues to occupy almost exclusively the public attention. In my last lecture, on Combativeness and Destructiveness, I discussed the sources of war, and alluded to the present extraordinary excitement of these organs in the American people, adding that it was a consolation to think that the excitement would not be responded to on the other side of the Atlantic. I proceeded to mention, that since the Reform Bill had become law, political power in Great Britain and Ireland was placed essentially in the hands of the middle classes of society; that they were moral, industrious, and reasonably intelligent; that, from experience of its horrors, as well as from motives of interest, philanthropy, and religion, they were averse to war; and that the disputed territory in Maine would appear to them such a worthless object compared with the evils of hostilities, that they would not echo the warlike defiance sent to them from the United States. After the lecture, a crowd of persons collected round me, and asked if this was really possible! They regarded John Bull as proud, grasping, pugnacious, and still so flushed with his continental victories, that he would receive menaces from no people on earth, and that they expected that the British nation would be roused into a flame equal to their own. The assurances that John Bull had now become older, wiser, and more virtuous than he once was, were received with delight, but not very generally credited. Events, however, verified my prediction in his favor.

It is edifying to observe how this people is acted on. Their leaders are far from participating in their excitement, but they

dare not, in the first ebullition of public passion, decidedly oppose them. Mr. Van Buren's message was a rational and statesmanlike document; and I hear the most eminent men in public life daily deploring the headlong impetuosity of their youthful people, and say that they are watching the first moment when the masses may be successfully addressed by reason. There is a want of moral courage, however, in the leaders, which, although easily accounted for, is not the less to be lamented. The impression is nearly universal, that any man who should oppose the public sentiment when under strong excitement, would ruin his popularity, and terminate for ever his public life. The torrent of opinion appears to be so overwhelming, that no efforts of reason will suffice to stem it; and the leading men have no sufficient faith either in their own power, or in the rational elements of the public mind, to induce them to venture opposition. Their reliance even on the ultimate ascendancy of reason and virtue is too feeble to allow them fairly to risk their fortunes on the venture. This fact, of which I am convinced by numerous observations, indicates an humble estimate by the public characters of the influence of the moral and intellectual faculties over the mass of the voters. At the same time, neither the leading men nor the people do themselves justice. Party spirit runs so high, that if, at this moment, the wisest and the best men in the Union, of one party in politics, should present the most forcible yet respectful appeal to the good sense of the people against war, their political opponents would instantly seize the opportunity to manufacture "political capital" out of it. They would pervert every sentence of the address, hurl denunciations of cowardice and want of patriotism against its authors, and offer the grossest adulation to the vanity of the nation. The people, having committed themselves against the appeal, would be withheld by pride from subsequently doing justice to its authors, who might struggle for years before they could recover that position in public estimation which they had forfeited solely by an act of genuine patriotism. The only mode of avoiding this evil would be for the leaders of both parties in equal numbers to join in the address; but they have too little confidence in each other to admit of such an act of magnanimity.

Among other stimulants to the national appetite for war, I hear in conversation, and see in the newspapers, the most exaggerated and absurd estimates of the evils which England must suffer from hostilities. The ruin of her manufactures, the loss of Canada and her West India Islands, the triumph of the Radicals and Chartists, and the bankruptcy of her treasury, are descanted on, with much complacency, as inevitable consequences

of her provoking a contest with the United States. This is the counterpart of the equally absurd lucubrations in which English writers indulge about the consequences to the Americans of a war with Britain: The emancipation of their slaves, the devastation of their southwest territory, the ruin of their commerce and of their Atlantic cities, the dissolution of the Union, universal bankruptcy and anarchy, and, finally, a military despotism, are the certain results with which they are threatened if they shall dare to provoke British wrath. This species of threatening and boasting reminds one of two ill-conditioned boys, who, assuming a combative attitude, indulge in reciprocal taunts and maledictions, but show no particular anxiety to begin the fight. War between Britain and the United States would be an act of insanity in both, and a disgrace to the civilisation of the nineteenth century; but even this boasting and daring each other to war shows a lingering barbarism in their minds, which it is their duty, as well as their interest, to eradicate as speedily as possible.

*Political Economy.*—Mr. Henry C. Carey of Philadelphia has published a valuable work on political economy; but I am informed that the subject is very little studied in the United States. As a branch of general education, it is nearly unknown, and ample evidence is afforded by the public press that most of the measures which should be regulated by sound economical principles are proposed, discussed, and adopted or rejected, on local, temporary, or private grounds, with the least possible reference to scientific views. In the United States the same outcries are raised from time to time against monopolies, and banks, and other institutions, which one might expect to hear in Austria or Naples, if the people of these countries were allowed to publish their sentiments; but one rarely meets with a public writer who treats of such subjects with a statesmanlike reference to the great principles which regulate the creation and distribution of wealth, and with a comprehensive regard to the interests of the whole Union; and yet such views are much required by this nation. The Americans appear to me to be trying all manner of social experiments, guided only by their instinctive impulses. The Union may be regarded as a vast field for the cultivation of the science of political economy *by experiment*. The Americans will probably solve some of the most momentous problems in economic science—that of paper currency, for example—by the mere exhaustion of errors. But this is a most expensive and painful method of studying a science. It resembles that of rushing into numerous litigations in order to gain a knowledge of law. It is certain that the prosperity of nations, as well as the motions of the planets, is regulated by positive laws, and that

happiness is attained only in proportion as these are obeyed. This truth should be instilled as a first principle into every American child, and the development of it in its specific forms and applications should constitute an important branch of general instruction. The American people need above all things to be trained in the perception and belief that they have a Master; a Master who not only will call them to account hereafter, but who actually rules over them in this world, and regulates the ebbing and flowing of their wealth by fixed laws, without the possibility of their escaping from his sway. If the principles of political economy were presented in this form, they would be understood and appreciated.

The neglect of economic science, although to be regretted, is not surprising in this people. They are the genuine descendants of the English, who are characterized by a larger development of the organs of Individuality, Eventuality, and Comparison, than of Causality, giving a practical rather than a speculative tendency to the mind; their institutions render them bold and confident; and their natural position is surrounded by so many avenues to prosperity, that they have a better chance than most people to go right by intuitive sagacity: nevertheless their want of knowledge of scientific social principles exposes them to great evils.

The American constitution is not favorable to legislation on scientific principles. The power of Congress, although extensive as to foreign relations, embraces comparatively few domestic interests. Each state, enjoying an independent sovereignty, is prone to pursue its own welfare, with little reference to that of the other states. At this time a vivid discussion is proceeding in the press, between New York and Philadelphia, whether an outlet shall be made from the Pennsylvania Canal at Black's Eddy, into the river Delaware, to enable the Lehigh coal, which now seeks the New York market, to get into the New York canal (the Delaware and Raritan) directly; or whether the coal shall be forced to proceed, as hitherto, to Bristol, thirty-four miles below Black's Eddy, there enter the Delaware, and reascend to the Eddy! The interest of New York is said to dictate the former plan, and that of Pennsylvania the latter. The legislature of Pennsylvania must decide the question; but there is reason to fear that its own apparent direct interest will have a greater influence over its decision than a regard to the general welfare of both states. I have no knowledge of the merits of this controversy, and cite the case merely in illustration of the impediments which the American institutions offer to the application of comprehensive principles of economical science.

The reader may possibly regard the statement made in page 183, about the opinions entertained by well-educated Ameri-

can gentlemen, concerning British legislation on the church, tithes, entails, free trade, and similar topics, as inconsistent with the remarks now offered; but in the chapter referred to, I spoke of men of superior attainments, and with reference to questions irrevocably settled and confirmed by experience. At present I allude to the application of principles still undecided by experiment, and to the average mind of the country.

March 16. Ther. 41°. *Ship-Launch*.—We were taken to-day by some kind friends to see the launch of the packet-ship "Thomas P. Cope," 800 tons burden. The ship went off in the most graceful style, amidst beautiful sunshine and a vast concourse of spectators. She glided so softly into the water that she did not perceptibly reel, and no perceptible surge was heaved up by her descent.

March 19. Ther. 57°. *Advantages of Training*.—In the lecture on education, forming part of my first course in Philadelphia, I explained the difference between *instructing* and *training*, and remarked that for the latter the field of social life is necessary. In illustration, I mentioned the great difference in command of temper between a body of lawyers and a body of divines when assembled to discuss their own affairs. In their profession lawyers are trained to oppose and to meet with opposition, without losing temper; while divines are treated with such general deference and courtesy, that they are very little accustomed to contradiction. The consequence is, that lawyers in general discuss their affairs without falling into heats of temper or making personal allusions; whereas the clergy, when assembled in their public courts, do not treat each other with that deference which they are accustomed to receive from the world; they meet as equals, espouse opposite opinions, and contradict each other like ordinary men. Their minds, however, being untrained to bear opposition, they lose their equanimity, become heated, fall into personalities, and exhibit extraordinary aberrations from that meekness of spirit which should characterise the Christian, whether clerical or lay. This description was drawn from observations made in my own country, but the latter part of it considerably amused my audience, the precise cause of which I never found out till to-day. I had, altogether unconsciously, described scenes which had recently occurred in the General Assembly of the Presbyterians in Philadelphia, when the ministers quarrelled and split, an event which had attracted great public attention. The utter unconsciousness, on my part, of the blows I was dealing, contrasted with their actual, although accidental, force, excited the risible faculties of not a few of my auditors. The subject has been mentioned to me to-day in the course of a conversation about a cause now depending in the

supreme court between these two sections of the Presbyterian Assembly, and which is exciting great and general interest.

*Unitarianism in Philadelphia.*—Dr. Friedlander, superintendent of the Asylum for the Blind, has died at the age of thirty-seven, deeply lamented, and the appointment of his successor is already engaging attention. A Unitarian left this institution nearly \$200,000, and Unitarians have been among its most assiduous promoters. They do not object to Trinitarians being elected as directors, if they be good men; but the Trinitarians use their influence to oppose the election of a Unitarian. I have derived this information from a member of the latter sect; and, if it be correct, it shows that the Calvinists of this city are chargeable to some extent, with the spirit of Popery in one of its worst forms, an unmitigated confidence in the infallible soundness of their own opinions. If they could conceive the possibility of their interpretations of Scripture being as liable to error as those of other sects, and give effect to this conception, they would respect the rights of conscience in other men, and approach so much the nearer to the real spirit of Christianity.

March 20. Ther. 45°. *Female Delicacy.*—The following statement was made to me by a clergyman, who had the best means of knowing the facts, and whom I did not at all suspect of palming on me an “old Joe Miller.” In allusion to the fastidiousness of American women about the human figure, he mentioned that the farther south the more ridiculous are the prejudices. The word “leg” must not be mentioned in the presence of a lady, and in whatever part of the abdomen a lady may have a pain, it is always announced as in her “breast.” A physician in the south told him that, if he had even proposed to open the body of a young lady, a patient, who had died of a disease imperfectly understood, he should have expected to receive a challenge for the insult from her brother.<sup>(a)</sup> The physician led him to understand that this had actually happened in his own experience. At the same time these ladies will allow colored men to come into their bed-rooms in the morning to light their fires, even when they are in their morning undress, without the least feeling of outraged delicacy.

*Lynch Law.*—I present the following extracts from two American newspapers without commentary:

(a) This story may be illustrative of the peculiar temperament of the “brother;” but it is not so of the people of the south. Some of them, like those of the north, and of the east, have prejudices against *post mortem* examinations; a prejudice, by the way, which, much, to their discredit, is every now and then participated in by even distinguished physicians, who, in their testamentary devises, have expressly prohibited an examination to be made of their own bodies.



"HORRID RESULTS OF LYNCHING.—In Schuyler county, Illinois, a man by the name of Sampson stole a trunk, while laboring under derangement of mind, and, being pursued, was caught and whipped to death for the offence. His brother, a highly respectable citizen, was in pursuit of him, when he learnt the melancholy story of his death. His delirium was caused by sickness, and he had escaped from his brother's house but a short time before he was seized, and lynched till he died."—*Boston Times*.

"Thus it always turn out, when any other course than such as is sanctioned by law is pursued to remedy an evil, or to bring an offender to justice. Under the plea of dealing *justice* to an offender, crimes are perpetrated far more atrocious than those which are urged as affording a pretext for their commission. Yet we regret that there are to be found, in every community, individuals so ignorant of their own rights as freemen, and of the rights of others, as to publicly advocate this system of 'summary justice,' or Lynch law. Though we are aware that most of these advocates may be found only among the valiant pothouse politicians of the day, yet their influence, small as it may be, and convincing as their arguments generally are of their own ignorance, can be traced, in its effects, in various parts of our country during the last few years. Who is there *now*, among the mob by which this morally innocent man was sacrificed, but would hide his head at his participation in the crime?"—*Editor of the Philadelphia Public Ledger of the 20th March*.

*Spring*.—Radishes appeared at table to-day for the first time; they are the welcome harbingers of spring.

*Dr. Morton's "Crania Americana."*—I have had the pleasure of holding many consultations with Dr. Morton and Mr. Phillips about the best means of measuring the skulls to be described in this work, and have been greatly interested by the ingenuity and perseverance of Mr. Phillips in overcoming the difficulties that presented themselves. He has now succeeded to an extent that will enable him to proceed with the measurements. Dr. Morton has requested me to furnish an Appendix for his work. He is imperfectly acquainted with Phrenology himself, and has composed his text without reference to it. He perceives, however, that when he presents a correct drawing of an average specimen of a national skull, and describes historically the mental character of the nation, he places in juxtaposition the two elements on which Phrenology is founded; and he is anxious to obtain the means of enabling his readers to combine them, so that they may draw their own conclusions on the accordance or discordance of the forms of the skulls with the Indian characters. I have engaged to supply this desideratum,

without having seen one word of his descriptions of the characters of the Indian tribes. My Appendix will consist of a brief outline of the phrenological faculties, of a drawing of a skull showing the regions of the animal, the moral, and the intellectual organs, with directions how to estimate their relative proportions; and some remarks on the influence of size in the brain on mental power. The reader of Dr. Morton's work, by applying the rules and examples thus furnished to the several skulls delineated in it, will be able to draw his own conclusions. This will expose Phrenology to as severe a test as could well be devised; but I have confidence in the harmony and stability of truth, and do not hesitate to hazard the experiment.\*

March 21. Ther. 43°. *Fires.*—There has been an alarm of fire on five of my lecture nights in succession; and last night the alarm was so near that I was under the necessity of suspending the lecture till the result should be seen. It was only a chimney on fire, but this is always attended with anxiety in American cities. The roofs of the houses are covered with shingles (thin wood cut into the shape of slates,) which are exceedingly dry, and a spark falling on them might raise a vast conflagration. This is one cause, also, of fires spreading so rapidly in this country. To avoid this danger, zinc is now used to cover the roofs of some houses. Notwithstanding this condition of the roofs, it is not an uncommon practice here to set the chimneys on fire and burn them out, to save the trouble and expense of sweeping them! One of the newspapers lately recommended the burning out of chimneys only during heavy rains, when the wet condition of the shingles might abate the risk of the conflagration extending! In a city like Philadelphia, the police should be armed with power to suppress the practice altogether, under severe penalties.

*Phrenology.*—At eleven o'clock this day, I had a practical

\* Since the text was written, Dr. Morton's work has appeared and been very favorably noticed in the Medical Reviews of the United States and of Britain. I may be permitted to remark, however, that the Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal, edited by Professor Jameson, and the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, edited by Dr. Craigie, in their ample notices of the work, have omitted to mention not only this experiment, but Dr. Morton's own testimony, penned six months after I left Philadelphia, of the result of it. He says, "I am free to acknowledge that there is a singular harmony between the mental character of the Indian, and his cranial development as explained by Phrenology." In the notices of Dr. Morton's work in Professor Silliman's American Journal of Science and the Arts (which Professor Jameson professes to copy nearly entire), in the London Medico-Chirurgical Review, and in the British and Foreign Medical Review, this result is stated in Dr. Morton's own words, and the interests of truth and justice require that it should be so.

exercise with my class on the temperaments, in the manner described in p. 84. Two hundred and twenty-three persons attended, who entered into the business of the meeting with great interest and judgment. Many of the members of the Society of Friends stood up to have their temperaments described; but when a call was made for ladies to stand up, there was a pause. I explained the advantages to parents and teachers of understanding the influence of the temperaments of children, as their treatment should vary with their natural constitutions. On hearing this, a Quaker gentleman took his daughter by the hand, and led her up to the platform. Her temperament was described, and then another Friend led up another young lady; after which there was no farther difficulty with the ladies. Among the men, the predominating temperaments were the bilious-nervous and nervous-bilious; the next common was the sanguine and its combinations; and there were very few cases of the lymphatic. Among the young women, also, there was surprisingly little of the lymphatic temperament; nervous-bilious was common; and nervous-bilious-sanguine.

In the evening we visited one of the Society of Friends, who with his lady had attended the lectures; and the morning's exercises were talked of. A lady of the party, who had not attended the lectures, held forth in severe condemnation of the young ladies who had stood up to have their temperaments described. She accused them of want of delicacy, compared them to Fanny Wright, and uttered many other disrespectful expressions against them. This is the only example which has fallen under my own observation, of the influences by which the amiable and feminine sentiments of the young women of this country are perverted. This female censor of morals was unmarried, and of a certain age. She possessed much volubility, a very slender stock of useful information, great native energy, and no slack of self-confidence. Her censures fell like two-edged swords on young, timid, and uninformed minds; and she gloried in her power. I told her plainly that it was by such speeches as hers that the young women of this country are made slaves, through the instrumentality of their best feelings, to injurious customs, to the great detriment of their health and usefulness; but she only launched out the more vehemently against human improvement, and in commendation of the nations of antiquity.

*Difficulty of describing Events.*—This same lady assured me that there was not one word of truth in Miss Martineau's description of a Quaker marriage, at which she had been present. Another lady of the party, who mentioned that she had herself witnessed the ceremony, stated that Miss Martineau's description

was substantially correct. Those who describe manners experience strikingly the fate of the painter who pleased nobody and every body. Phrenology shows us that men differ in their original faculties, and hence the same event will make different impressions on different minds: They differ in their education and training, and yet each assumes his own perceptions and emotions to constitute the true standard for judging of all things: They differ in their opportunities for correct observation, yet each believes his own impressions to constitute absolute truth. The traveller is only one mind, with a particular combination of faculties, some powerful and others deficient; he is trained in his own peculiar way; he has only his own opportunities of observation, and his own stock of knowledge; and all that he should pretend to accomplish is to record faithfully his individual impressions, and leave his readers themselves to judge of their value.

*Rate of Wages.*—The journeymen house-carpenters have published a manifesto, addressed “to the public in general, and builders in particular,” in which they state that “our present wages is \$1 25 cents (5s. 2d. sterling) per day, out of which sum we find it impossible to live, and render unto every man that which is just, although we practise the most rigid economy. Men, under these circumstances, are frequently driven by poverty and care to intemperance, to dispel for a season the horrid gloom which envelopes their homes.” They ask \$1 50 cents per day. They add, that all other trades connected with building receive from \$1 50 to \$1 75 cents per day.

Working men also complain of another grievance. There is no arrangement by distant banks for redeeming their notes in Philadelphia, and in consequence they are not received by the banks of this city. The only way of disposing of them is to carry them to the exchange-brokers, who buy them at a discount corresponding to the distance and difficulties of sending them to their own head-quarters, and obtaining Philadelphia money in return. The workmen complain that their masters buy up these notes at a discount, and pay them over to them at par; throwing the loss of the exchange on them! The Public Ledger, in noticing this abuse, says: “We consider this extortion most unconscionable, and regard every one who will practise it as a thief of the very worst description, for he steals from poverty.”

*The Presbyterian Church Case.*—This case excites great interest, and its present form may be briefly stated. It has come into the Supreme Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania *nisi prius*, on a writ of *quo warranto*, which is the form of a summons commanding the parties named in it to appear and show by what authority they exercise the liberty and franchise described in the writ.

On the 28th of March, 1799, the legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act, incorporating certain persons therein mentioned, under the name of "The Trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." It is declared by section 6th, "That the said corporation shall not at any time consist of more than eighteen members; whereof the said General Assembly may, at their discretion, as often as they shall hold their sessions in the state of Pennsylvania, change one-third, in such manner as to the said General Assembly shall seem proper: And the corporation aforesaid shall have power and authority to manage and dispose of all moneys, goods, chattels, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and other estate whatsoever committed to their care and trust, by the said General Assembly; but in cases where special instructions for the management and disposal thereof shall be given by the said General Assembly in writing, under the hand of their clerk, it shall be the duty of the said corporation to act according to such instructions," provided said instructions shall not be inconsistent with the laws of the United States, of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, or the provisions of the act of incorporation.

Differences of opinion crept into the church, and increased; two conflicting parties divided each General Assembly, and the terms Old and New School began to be applied to them respectively. For several years the two parties continued nearly equal in numbers. In 1831-2-3 and 1834, the Old School (or orthodox) were a minority in the General Assembly. In 1835 they had a majority; but again, in 1836, the New School were able to carry their measures. The Old-School party projected to separate from the New, with whom they could not agree; and in May, 1837, a meeting of that party was held in Philadelphia, for deliberating on this project. But the Old School unexpectedly found themselves to constitute a majority of the Assembly of that year. They made a proposal of separation to the New School, and to give force to the proposal, they intimated the design of cutting off from the Presbyterian Church a sufficient number of their opponents to place themselves strongly and permanently in the majority. Resolutions were presented to cite to the bar of the next Assembly "such inferior judicatories as shall appear to be charged by common fame with the toleration of gross errors in doctrine and disorders in practice;" and also to exclude the "members of said judicatories from a seat in the next Assembly, until their case shall be decided." These resolutions were adopted, and a committee, consisting of five from the majority, and five from the minority, was appointed to carry them into effect. "The Assembly engaged in prayer on behalf of this

committee, and of the subject referred to them." The committee met, disagreed, and asked to be discharged.

During these proceedings, the New School intimated that they were willing to separate, and offered terms; but these the Old School rejected, and proceeded to the work of excision. They cut off from the church the four synods which returned the greatest number of the New School members to the General Assembly, viz. those of Geneva, created in 1812, of Genessee in 1821, of the Western Reserve in 1825, and of Utica in 1829. There were in those synods 28 presbyteries, 509 ministers, 599 churches, and 59,489 communicants. They did this without an accuser or accusation; and the first information on the subject which reached the ears of the great mass of Presbyterians who inhabited the proscribed districts was, that they had been cut off, and excluded from the communion of their church.

At the same time, the Old School *dissolved* the third presbytery of Philadelphia, containing 33 ministers, 32 churches, and 4850 communicants, without the usual provision of attaching the ministers and churches to other presbyteries. This also was done without accusation, proof, or trial. They stated, however, that "great, long-continued, and increasing common fame charges, errors, and irregularities in doctrine and order" on this presbytery, and also on that of Wilmington; but they did not proceed against the latter. They reserved the privilege to all churches and ministers in the four excised synods, "which are strictly Presbyterian in doctrine and order," to apply for admission into other presbyteries in connection with the Assembly. They also reserved the same liberty to the ministers, churches, and licentiates of the third or *dissolved* presbytery of Philadelphia.

The Old School justified these measures on the ground that a certain plan of union entered into in the year 1801, between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the General Association of the state of Connecticut, was unconstitutional; that congregationalists had been received under that union; and that the four excised synods had been formed under this unconstitutional association. The Assembly first abrogated the union, and then declared that this plan having been unconstitutional and void from the beginning, no rights had ever been acquired by it, and, therefore, that the four synods, which were alleged to have been formed under its operation, had never been parts of the Presbyterian Church.

The Old School required and obtained a pledge from the clerks of the Assembly, that they would not recognise the commissions of delegates from within the bounds of the excised synods, if

presented to the next Assembly, to be held in May, 1838, and then adjourned till that time. No minute, however, was made of this pledge in the records of the Assembly.

On the third Tuesday, 17th of May, 1838, commissioners from the various presbyteries of the United States, including those coming from the four excinded synods, met as usual in Philadelphia. The clerks refused to receive the commissions of the excinded delegates.

All the delegates met in the seventh Presbyterian church, the place appointed for the meeting of the Assembly of 1838. After the customary religious services, Dr. Elliott, the moderator of the previous year, took the chair, until a new moderator should be chosen. The clerks read their report, and the moderator announced, that, if there were any commissioners present whose names had not been enrolled, now was the time to present their commissions. Upon this call, Dr. Mason, a delegate from the third Presbytery of New York, presented the commissions from the excinded synods, mentioned that the clerks had refused to receive them, and moved that the names contained in them should be added so the roll. The moderator declared this motion out of order; Dr. Mason appealed from the decision; his appeal was seconded, but the moderator declared it also out of order, and declined putting the question to the house.

At this juncture of affairs, the Rev. John P. Cleaveland, a commissioner from the Presbytery of Detroit, introduced, after a preamble, a series of resolutions, for the deposition from office of the clerks who had refused to receive the commissions offered from the excinded synods, and of Dr. Elliott, the moderator who had refused to put the question; and also, that Dr. Beman, the moderator of a former General Assembly, preceding the last one, should be named temporary moderator, and put the question. Accordingly a partial formation was attempted, the New School members voting Dr. Beman to be moderator, and forming themselves into an Assembly, which proceeded to the election of new clerks and a new moderator, and then adjourned to the first Presbyterian church (Mr. Barnes's) in Washington Square, where it sat during nearly two weeks.

The following summary notice of these proceedings is found in the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, A. D. 1838, of the Old School. After Dr. Mason's appeal had been declared out of order by the moderator, who repeated the call for commissioners from presbyteries in connection with the Assembly,

“ The Rev. Miles P. Squier, a member of the Presbytery of Geneva, then rose and stated that he had a commission from the Presbytery of Geneva, which he had presented to the clerks,

who refused to receive it, and that he now offered it to the Assembly, and claimed his right to his seat. The moderator inquired if the Presbytery of Geneva was within the bounds of the Synod of Geneva. Mr. Squier replied that it was. The moderator said: "Then we do not know you, sir," and declared the application out of order. Mr. Cleaveland then rose and began to read a paper, the purport of which was not heard, when the moderator called him to order. Mr. Cleaveland, however, notwithstanding the call to order was repeated by the moderator, persisted in the reading, during which the Rev. Joshua Moore, from the Presbytery of Huntingdon, presented a commission, which being examined by the committee of commissions, Mr. Moore was enrolled, and took his seat.

"It was then moved to appoint a committee of elections, to which the informal commissioners might be referred. But the reading by Mr. Cleaveland still continuing, and the moderator having in vain called him to order, took his seat, and the residue of the Assembly remaining silent, the business was suspended during the short but painful scene of confusion and disorder which ensued. After which, and the actors therein having left the house, the Assembly resumed its business."

A more distinct notice of the conduct of the seceding commissioners was taken, on Thursday, May 24th, in the following terms:

"The Assembly proceeded to the order of the day, viz. the resolutions offered by Mr. W. Maxwell, at the last session [yesterday]; and after debate, the resolutions were unanimously adopted, and are as follows, viz. 1. *Resolved*, That the commissioners to the General Assembly, viz. William Patton, D. D., Erskine Mason, D. D., Rev. John P. Cleaveland, Nathan S. S. Beman, D. D., and others, who, according to order and usage, had presented their commissions to the permanent and stated clerks, prior to the meeting of the body on Thursday last, the 17th instant; and afterwards, on that day, while the house was organising, and the clerks, under the direction of the moderator pending, were actually engaged in completing the roll, interrupted the progress of the regular meeting, by combining with certain other persons present, unknown to the General Assembly,\* in openly forming another body, which they call the General Assembly, and subsequently, voluntarily and without leave asked or obtained, left the house to convene in the First Presbyterian Church in this city; in so doing committed an act, which, however intended, can only be considered as a plain and palpable

\* These persons unknown were, it must be supposed, the commissioners from the excised synods.



violation of order and decorum, and in derogation of the duty which they owed to the house, and to the church, and to the cause of Christ.

“2. *Resolved*, That by their said conduct, and by their subsequently neglecting to attend the sessions of the General Assembly since that day, and at the same time notoriously attending the commissioners of another body, convening from day to day in the First Presbyterian Church, calling itself the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America; the said commissioners appear to have wilfully and deliberately vacated their seats in this house, the only true and proper General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and to have originated and organised a schismatical secession from the body to which they belonged.

“3. *Resolved*, That the names of the said commissioners be now called and recorded, in order that they may be reported to the presbyteries of which they are members respectively.

“The roll was then called, and the following names were recorded, agreeably to the foregoing resolution.”

The names were 57 in number, of which there were 29 of ministers, and 28 of elders.

On the very day on which the above resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly of the Old School, the New School by its General Assembly, elected six persons to act as trustees according to the provisions of the charter of incorporation, in place of the trustees who at that time held office, and who were attached to the Old School.

The commissioners belonging to the Old School, continued their sittings in the seventh Presbyterian church, and acted on the principle, so distinctly affirmed in one of the preceding resolutions, that *they* were the real General Assembly of Presbyterians.

The incorporated trustees held property to a considerable amount, which the church had acquired by legacies and other means, and which had been invested partly in Theological Seminaries, viz. at Princeton, New Jersey, and at Alleghany, near Pittsburgh, Pa.,—the latter is called the Western Theological Seminary. The real object of the present action was, to ascertain to which of the parties the monies, goods, and chattels belonged.

The case went to a jury on the question, whether the trustees of the Old School were lawfully removed from their places, and the trustees of the New School lawfully elected in their stead? in other words, which of the two bodies was the true and only Assembly.

While the trial was proceeding, I heard several commentaries

made on the evidence given by the reverend gentlemen on both sides. It became necessary to prove before the jury the proceedings which took place at one of the great meetings that preceded the separation, and it was remarked, that by some unexplained action of the laws of acoustics, the witnesses on each side were able to bear testimony only to the speeches which were delivered in favor of their own party; they did not *hear* distinctly, so as to be able to report on oath, the speeches delivered, and motions made on the opposite side. The clearness of the recollection on the one side, and the obscurity of it on the other, attracted considerable attention in court; but this was not extraordinary. An indifferent auditor, who is interested in the proceedings, may recollect the arguments on both sides equally well, for his attention is equally directed to both; but when a *party* is in court, he naturally listens with profound attention to the proceedings on his own side, and relaxes his attention when his opponents speak. As an act of close attention is necessary to distinct recollection, and as none of the members knew that they were subsequently to be examined on oath about the proceedings, I conceive this obliviousness of the hostile proceedings to have been a natural result of the circumstances in which the witnesses were placed.

Judge Rogers charged the jury strongly in favor of the New School; and after a consultation of about an hour, they returned a verdict in favor of that party, the plaintiffs under the writ.\*

I have presented this report at considerable length, in order to show the true nature of the disputes which led to the separation of the two parties of Presbyterians. It owed its origin to differences in doctrine and practice. Rigid Calvinism was giving way among the Presbyterians, both in the city of Philadelphia and in the distant synods of New York; and the measures now detailed arose out of an attempt by the orthodox members to check the declension, or, as the other party say, the advance towards sounder doctrine.

*Dickinson College, Carlisle.*—The state of Pennsylvania granted an annual sum to Dickinson College, on the condition that it should be open to all sects as a seminary of education. The Presbyterians got hold of it, by insensible steps, until, at last, a complaint against them was presented to the legislature, that they had possessed themselves of all the offices, and had, in fact, converted it into a Presbyterian seminary. A committee

\* The Old School appealed for a new trial, to the judges in bank (that is, judges sitting in a body), before whom a very long argument was subsequently maintained. They set aside the verdict of the jury, and a new trial was directed; so that until farther decision is made, the property remains with the trustees of the Old School.

of the senate was appointed to examine evidence and to report. A member of this committee mentioned to me, that about twenty Presbyterian clergymen were examined, and that never in his life had he encountered such difficulties in extracting evidence from witnesses, as from these gentlemen; and he said, that the same remark was made by all who heard the examinations. The grant to the college was ultimately withdrawn.(a)

*Infidelity in the United States.*—I have in vain endeavored to discover to what extent infidelity prevails in those parts of the United States which I have visited. I have seen no outward traces of it; but when in New York, I was told that a society of Deists meets on Sundays in Tammany Hall, that they are persons of respectable station and morals, who act on conscientious conviction, and moreover, that a large proportion of them are Scotsmen. I was asked to explain how the latter circumstance came to pass; but as I did not see the society, and did not investigate the facts, I declined to offer any opinion on the subject.\*

In "The Presbyterian" of the 23d of March, 1839, an evangelical newspaper published in Philadelphia and New York, I find the following statement, which, from the high character of the paper, is entitled to far more weight than any opinion which I could possibly have formed. "There is no doubt that many more men than we are willing or accustomed to believe, are secretly cherishing infidelity. It has been widely disseminated through our country, and even in those portions of it where the gospel has been long enjoyed, and the great mass of the families are moral and religious. Many of our young men in all ranks and classes of society are tinctured with it, and help to

(a) For the last few years, Dickinson College has been avowedly and actually under the direction of the Methodist church.

\* I was told that most of these Scotsmen had been educated in the old country, and had come as emigrants to the United States. While this sheet is in the press, I have perused a work just published, entitled "Religion and Education in America, by John Dunmore Lang, D. D.," senior minister of the Presbyterian church in New South Wales, &c., and himself for many years a minister of the church of Scotland. He there says, "Accustomed as I had been from my youth up to the lean, gaunt form of Scottish orthodoxy, with neither a heart nor a soul beneath its ribs of death, and with an apron of fig-leaves tucked round it to cover the nakedness of the land, I confess it was not less novel to me, than it was extremely gratifying, to witness the vigor and the life, the piety and the zeal, the self-denial and the self-devotedness, that evidently characterised both sections of the Presbyterian church." If this representation of the Scottish church be correct, it may account in some degree for the facts alleged to exist in New York. Dr. Lang has renounced his connection with the church of Scotland, and prefers the voluntary system; but he still professes orthodoxy in faith.

extend and perpetuate it." This announcement took me by surprise; and it is proper to add, that it does not appear in an editorial form, but in a communicated article, bearing the initials D. N. The editor, however, must have believed it to be correct when he allowed its insertion. The writer ascribes the prevalence of infidelity to "the disuse of the Bible as a class-book in our common schools; the importation of European infidelity and agrarianism by Owen, Fanny Wright, and others; the boastful and arrogant claims to reason, free inquiry, and independence of thought, so universally made by infidel writers and speakers, and so captivating to uninformed and uncultivated minds; and the natural preference of the human mind of error rather than truth. It is painful," says he, "to contemplate the wide-spread operation of these causes. No one can travel on our great highways, in steamboats, on canals, and railways, and mingle with the moving masses he there finds, without being sensible of their dreadful effects." He proceeds to recommend a work by Dr. Nelson, now of Illinois, as the best antidote to this evil.

## CHAPTER IV.

Sunday—The Friends of the People—The Fire Department—The Pennsylvania Judges—Rotation in Office—Pennsylvania Legislature—The Boring System—Fortune-Telling—Marriage Vows—Conversion of the Jews—How to Manage the People—The Baths of Philadelphia—Acuteness of Children—The United States' Bank—Omnibuses and Railroads—Pulmonary Consumption—The Education of the People—Chimney-sweeps—"The Colored American"—Female Delicacy—New Lunatic Asylum—Railroads in the United States—The Academy of Natural Sciences—The Pursuit of Wealth—Cause of the Decline of Quakerism—Sunday Travelling—Franklin's Grave—Imprisonment for Debt—How to Choose a Sect—The Deaf and Dumb Institution—Exclusion of Sectarianism from the Common Schools—Defective Teaching in Common Schools—The Yellow Fever in Philadelphia—Dr. Parish on Liberty of Conscience.

1839.

MARCH 24. Ther. 43°. *Sunday*.—We heard a highly evangelical discourse in a church in Broad Street, a little above Chestnut Street, and found a handsome edifice, a large congregation, and an able preacher; not the pastor of the church, however, but a stranger. His text was, "Take up the cross and follow me;" and he drew a lively picture of the difference between what he called the maxims and wisdom of the world, and the obligations of Christianity.

March 25. Ther. 43°. *The Friends of the People*.—I have had the pleasure of meeting in society here an old gentleman who was the friend and associate of Muir, Skirving, and other Scottish Reformers, at the beginning of the French Revolution, and who at that time left his native country on account of political persecution. He settled here, and has been successful in business, having realised a competence. He is much respected.

*The Fire Department*.—I have already mentioned that the fire-engines are all served voluntarily by the young men of the city; and that they even keep up the engines and hose at their own expense, assisted occasionally by the profits of a ball, or a donation from the civic corporation. I have endeavored to discover the motives which have maintained this system in full energy for a century. In the first place, in observing the men in one of their processions, I perceived that they were almost all

under thirty years of age, and of the sanguine, or sanguine-ner-  
vous, or sanguine-bilious, temperaments, which give great love  
of excitement and action. The midnight alarm, the rushing to  
the fires, and the labor and peril in extinguishing them, are  
agreeable to such minds. Farther, their emulation is strongly  
excited. The point of honor is to be first at a fire. The direc-  
tor of the first engine that arrives becomes director-general of all  
the engines for the evening. He is, as it were, the commander-  
in-chief of an allied army during a battle. If the director be not  
out, the engine-man who first attaches his hose to the water-pipe  
assumes that high honor. There are no recognised differences  
in rank in this country, but it struck me that there are, in fact,  
plebeian and patrician fire-companies, drawn from different classes  
of citizens, and that this adds to the ardor of the competition. The  
company attached to each engine amounts to from 20 to 100  
men, and it starts from its station-house as soon as two or three  
have arrived to direct its movements. The people in the street  
assist in dragging it. The competition to be first is so ardent,  
that ambitious young men sleep as if a part of the brain was left  
awake to watch for the word "fire," or the sound of the state-  
house alarm-bell. They will hear either, when no other inmate  
of the house is conscious of the slightest sound. They will  
sometimes put on their boots and great-coats, and carry their  
clothes, which lie readily bundled up, in their hands, and dress  
at the fire. In rushing along the streets, they often run down  
and severely injure passengers who are in their way; or, if one  
of themselves falls, the rest drag on the engine, regardless of his  
fate, and often break his legs or arms with the wheels. When  
two engines arrive at a fire at the same time, the companies oc-  
casionally fight for the first place, and then a desperate and  
bloody battle will rage for a considerable time while the flames  
are making an unchecked progress. Add to these evils, the cir-  
cumstances that fires occur so frequently that the firemen are  
kept in a state of almost constant excitement, and that Sunday  
furnishes no respite from their labors. They are often called  
out on very trivial alarms, and being once abroad at midnight  
hours, they adjourn to taverns, and pass the night in nocturnal  
recreations. Troops of boys, also, attach themselves as volun-  
teers to the engines, and acquire idle and dissolute habits. In  
short, the fire department, which at first sight appears to present  
a noble specimen of civic devotion and disinterested benevolence,  
turns out, on a closer scrutiny, to be a convenient apology for  
excitable young men indulging in irregular habits, which, if not  
clothed with an official and popular character, would expose them  
to censure by a strictly moral community. In Boston, the evils  
of the voluntary fire system have been so severely felt, that it

has been abandoned, and a regularly organised and paid corps of firemen now serves in that city. Many respectable persons in New York and Philadelphia desire that their cities also should adopt the same plan.

March 26. Ther. 43°. *The Pennsylvania Judges.*—I have already mentioned that, by the recent amendment of the constitution of this state, the judges were declared no longer to hold their offices for life, but to be subject to election for a term of ten years; that their salaries are small and that they are not allowed any retiring pensions. An incident illustrative of their condition has just become public. At the time of this change in the law, some of them had attained to sixty or sixty-five years of age, had families, and saw old age, without provision, approaching. Governor Ritner, a whig, continued to hold office for a few days under the amended constitution, until the legal inauguration of Governor Porter, a democrat, who at the last election had succeeded in obtaining the majority of votes. "Judge Darlington was the first judge whose commission would have expired under the amended constitution. To evade this provision of the new constitution, he, before Governor Porter's inauguration, resigned his seat, and was re-commissioned under the new constitution by Governor Ritner, thus renewing his term for ten years." The attorney-general, Mr. Johnson, has served a writ of *quo warranto* on Judge Darlington, to inquire upon what authority he holds his seat upon the bench; and the 2d of April is fixed by the supreme court for hearing the argument. The case is exciting much interest, because, it is said, that other judges stand in the same situation.

*Rotation in Office.*—This is the phrase used to gloss over the palpable injustice and the public disadvantages attending the dismissal from office by each political party, on its accession to power, of all their political opponents, however meritoriously they may have discharged their public duties. It is said to have been begun by General Jackson; and the extent to which it is now carried, may be judged of from the following extract from "The Pennsylvanian," a democratic paper, of the 28th of March, 1839:—

"The Washington Globe asks for information as to the extent of proscription, for opinion's sake, exercised by the whig party in Pennsylvania. In reply it is perhaps unnecessary to go into particulars, for the aforesaid proscription was exercised upon a principle of the most sweeping generality. For instance, in 1832, when the whig party gained the upper hand in the city of Philadelphia, and found the offices held by democrats, they did not spare a single man. In the course of that year and the one ensuing, every democrat was swept out, whether his office

was high or low, the very watchmen being subjected to the operation as inexorably as those who held places of value. In fact, the treatment of the watchmen was more severe, if possible, than that which fell to the share of the other ejected parties; for they were all discharged in mid-winter, when it was impossible for them to procure employment. So much for city matters.

"In the state, upon the accession of Joseph Ritner, the same course of action was followed to the very letter. Throughout the whole of this commonwealth, in the county offices and upon the public works, every democrat was superseded by some one whose politics were congenial to those of the minority leaders, who had been successful by an accidental breach in the democratic ranks. Still more; in 1838, when the political struggle became violent, a species of inquisition as to party faith was established in regard to the very laborers on the public works, and, if a doubt was entertained as to the firmness of their Ritnerism, they were at once turned adrift. A devotion to Thaddeus Stevens was one of the chief requisites for obtaining a contract; and he who split wood for a locomotive was suffered to split no more if he would not bow to Geisler's cap. Proscription was carried to the utmost extent. No one was so humble as to escape it. How many democrats did whiggery dismiss in Pennsylvania? The answer is brief and comprehensive. All!"

This statement proceeds from a party source; but I have read "The Pennsylvanian" pretty regularly since my arrival in Philadelphia, and so far as a stranger has the means of judging, it appears to me to be ably and *honestly* conducted. Its own party is at present in power; and, nevertheless, it speaks of the "boring system" in the following terms:—

"*Pennsylvania Legislature—The Boring System.*"—After stating that the legislature has closed its labors for the present, and "that the amount of business left unfinished by the adjournment is greater than on any former occasion," the editor proceeds to say—"We fully believe that great impediments are thrown in the way of the fulfilment of imperative duties by the monstrous increase of boring and lobbying on behalf of the interests of corporate associations, and it is clear to our minds that the time has come to crush this iniquitous system, which is a disgrace to the state, and is a fruitful source not only of political corruption, but of personal debauchery. It is a common case, when any particular institution feels anxious for certain additional privileges which are at the disposal of the legislature, for it to proceed upon a regular and well understood *tactique*. Its agents or officers appear upon the ground with purses well fur-



nished from the 'contingent fund,' and commence the work of ingratiating. The railroad cars bring up the boxes of champagne, brandy, cigars, and delicacies of all kinds, and it is said that then a convenient room is obtained as a head-quarters, where the members of the legislature are at liberty to partake gratuitously of the eating, the drinking, and the roaring frolics carried on in these places of resort, which are open not only all day, but likewise all night, (like the entrance to a certain nameless place described by Virgil,) and where it is also asserted that gambling is frequently introduced to give additional zest to the delights of the boring system, and to initiate those who are as yet untainted by the vicious desires which render men an easy prey to the tempter. To follow up the work thus begun, the collateral operations of making presents of liquor and various articles, with the loaning of money to the needy and extravagant who are entrusted with power, are brought into play; and the fact is notorious that, of late years, among the members of the legislature, many young men, and not a few of more advanced years, who were deficient in the necessary resolution, have been utterly and often irretrievably ruined by the evil influences to which they were thus subjected at Harrisburg, acquiring habits which led to certain destruction."

I have already remarked, p. 234, that the conduct of the legislators on private bills on both sides of the Atlantic leaves little occasion to either to boast of a virtuous discharge of public duty. In the English House of Commons, the "influences" used to purchase or to strangle justice before committees are not so humble as those employed to attain the same ends in the legislature of Pennsylvania; but in principle they are the same. They are a disgrace to both countries; but no opposition print in London could have condemned the committees of their political opponents with greater force and a more just indignation than is here exhibited by the democratic "Pennsylvanian," in commenting on its own party.

*Fortune-telling.*—I have already, p. 242, adverted to the exercise of fortune-telling as a profession in Philadelphia, and observe that in New York it stands in an equally dignified position. "Fortune-telling," says the *Journal of Commerce*, "has become such a regular branch of business in New York, that cards with the names and residences of professed fortune-tellers are almost daily handed to ladies and gentlemen while walking through the streets. The matter having, however, reached Justice Merritt in the shape of a complaint, he sent officers to the residence of a Mrs. Louisa Kraft in Christye street, and a Mrs. Theresa George Medier in Orchard street, each of whose cards had been left at the police-office by gentlemen who com-

plained that their wives or daughters had been considerably annoyed by boys thrusting those cards into their hands in the street. The officers easily obtained access to the fortune-tellers, and had their fortunes told them for the low sum of fifty cents each, and then marched off the two ladies to the police-office as common vagrants. Mrs. Louisa Kraft, on being examined, very candidly admitted "that she did not pretend to tell the fortune of any individual; but that if persons were foolish enough to go to her for that purpose, she would receive their money." The two ladies were both ordered to find bail in \$500, to be of good conduct for one year, and in default of such bail were committed to prison.

Such occurrences would excite only ridicule in a European monarchy, where the people exercise no political power; but they are more momentous in a country in which universal suffrage prevails. The "persons who are foolish enough to go to" Mrs. Louisa Kraft to have their fortunes told, are regarded by the law as "wise enough" to choose state officers and legislators.

March 28. Therm. 57°. *Marriage Vows.*—A friend from a neighboring state, newly married, came to our hotel to-day with his bride. In conversing with the party, they mentioned that some of the clergymen omit the promise of *obedience* on the part of the wife from the marriage service, as unconstitutional! This probably is a joke; but so far as my means of observation extend, I should say that American wives in general display the most exemplary devotedness to their husbands, whether they vow obedience before the altar or not.

*Conversion of the Jews.*—I am assured that in this city Jews are treated in much the same manner as individuals are who belong to the Christian sects. They are received in society according to their attainments and condition. Jewish physicians attend Christian patients, and *vice versa*. Jews fall in love with, and marry pretty Christian women, and within three generations the Jew is sunk, and the family merges into the mass of the general population. There is a Jewish synagogue, in which the brethren hold meetings on Saturdays; but the spirit of free discussion which has loosened the bonds of orthodoxy in other sects, has not been without some influence on the Jews. They use considerable freedoms with Moses and the prophets, preach and discuss general ethics and natural religion, and altogether wear the chains of Judaism so loosely, that probably their brethren in Europe would disown them.

This description of their condition was not derived from one of their own number, but from a friend, who said that he obtained it from an educated and highly respectable Jew. I

inquired of several gentlemen whom I regarded as likely to be well informed on the subject, whether it might be relied on, and they said that it was highly colored, but that it contains essential truth. I conclude from this example, that the best method of converting the Jews is to treat them with justice and generosity.

*How to Manage the People.*—The American people may be led by promptness, good nature, and tact; but they will not be driven. In 1812, previously to the declaration of war against England, the mob of Philadelphia seized the rudder of a British brig, lying at the wharf, to prevent her from sailing, there being at that time no legal authority for detaining her. Mr. ———, a highly respectable and well known citizen, met them dragging the rudder through the streets in triumph; he joined them, and hauled the rope and cheered with the rest. They proposed to go and break the windows of the British consul. He went with them; and when they came opposite to the house, he addressed them, as if he had never heard of the proposal to break the windows, and said, “Now, my brave lads, let us give him three cheers to show that we are not afraid of the British, and be off.” He cheered instantly, and they all joined. At the close of the last cheer, he gave the word “off to the State-House;” and suited the action to the word so rapidly that nobody had time to suggest or do any thing else. Arrived at the State-House, he said, “Let us give three cheers for America, and lock up the helm in the State-House.” “America for ever! Hurrah! hurrah!” The key of the cellar was obtained, and the helm locked up, three cheers were given “for ourselves;” “Dismiss” was then uttered, and acted on by his walking away; and all followed his example. As the whole proceeding had been illegal, Mr. ——— went quietly to the ship, and desired the captain to send up to the State-House for his helm in the night. He did so; put it on; and when the sun rose, he was down the Delaware on his voyage to England.

Another anecdote of the same gentleman is equally characteristic of the “way to manage the people.” Between Walnut and Spruce streets, and Sixth and Washington streets, lay a piece of ground named the Potter’s field, or burial place for strangers. Interments in it had long been prohibited, but it contained some graves and monuments inclosed by railings. There was a strong desire in the minds of many enlightened citizens to clear these away and to turn the ground into an ornamental square, as it now lay in the heart of the city; but every proposal to obliterate them was resisted by the public sentiment, although no living person could be found who was interested in any of them. Mr. ——— suggested to a marble-cutter to carry

off the monuments quietly, and by slow degrees, at dead of night. In the course of two years, they all disappeared mysteriously, nobody knew how. The rails followed. Nobody interfered; nobody noticed the change until it was complete. He employed men quietly at night to level the surface over the graves. Thus was completed, in less than three years, without any authority whatever, a change which the enlightened residents had in vain solicited permission to accomplish. The ground being reduced to a waste, the civic corporation, without any hesitation, voted money to inclose it with a handsome rail, to plant it, and to furnish it with gravel walks. It is now Washington Square, one of the greatest ornaments, and a great benefit to the city.

March 29. Ther. 63°. The weather is so warm that we have left off fires. The following table has appeared in the newspapers, and is interesting.

“*The Baths of Philadelphia.*—Owing to the copious supply of water from Fairmount, the city and suburbs of Philadelphia enjoy the luxury of bathing, in a way superior to most cities of Europe or America, as the following table will show. It is taken from last year’s report of the Watering Committee.

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| “ The city proper has 1673 private baths, |            |
| paying - - - - -                          | \$5,061 00 |
| Ditto 10 public, one of which pays - - -  | 300 00     |
| The other 9 pay - - - - -                 | 360 00     |
| Northern Liberties, 195 private baths,    | 877 50     |
| Spring Garden, 217 - - - - -              | 976 50     |
| Southwark, 45 - - - - -                   | 202 50     |
| Moyamensing, 23 - - - - -                 | 103 50     |
| Kensington, 1 - - - - -                   | 6 00       |
| 2164                                      | \$7,887 00 |

“Two thousand one hundred and sixty-four baths supplied with an *unlimited* quantity of water for seven thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven dollars!”

*United States Bank.*—There is a great sensation this evening about the resignation by Nicholas Biddle, Esq. of his office of President of the United States Bank.

*Acuteness of Children.*—In the course of my lectures, I urged the necessity of women being thoroughly educated for the sake of guiding the opening minds of children; and this evening one of the Society of Friends whom we visited, read to me in illustration of the lecture, a part of a letter which she had just received from her married sister, living in a neighboring state. The letter described the questions put to her by her child on hearing parts of the Scripture read. The child insisted

on being informed whither Ananias and Sapphira went when they were struck dead. "To hell?" asked the child. The mother gave an evasive answer. "To heaven?" "No." "Where then did they go?" On hearing the description read of Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac, and of his being at last told to spare his son, and sacrifice the ram, the child exclaimed, "Well, I do say that that was cheating!" The mother could go no farther. It would be very interesting and instructive to parents and teachers, if a record were published of the observations of children, who have large moral and intellectual organs, on the Scripture narratives. Such a record would show the relation in which these stand to the human mind in its natural condition, before it has been influenced by commentaries and explanations, or glosses indicate what portions of Scripture are calculated most directly to benefit the juvenile faculties. The advantage of *selecting* passages suited to their capacities would then become evident, and the objection of "mutilating the Scriptures," which is raised in Britain against the proposal to prepare extracts from the Bible for the use of children, would be refuted by evidence that the young are far from being benefited by an indiscriminate perusal of the whole.

March 30. Ther. 53°. *The United States Bank.*—Mr. Biddle's letter of resignation is published in the newspapers to-day. He assigns "approaching age and precarious health" as the causes of his retirement. I am informed by the medical friends of Mr. Biddle, that a pressure of labor and anxiety such as he encountered at the last expiry of the charter of the bank, and at the suspensiou of cash-payments in 1837, would in all probability induce either apoplexy or inflammation, and that he has been strongly urged by them to retire. One medical gentleman who knew him well, said to me, that if he had continued in office, and any new difficulty had arisen, he should not have been surprised to hear that he was found dead in his business-room. The stock of the bank has fallen in consequence of his retirement.

March 31. Ther. 40°. *Omnibuses and Rail-roads.*—In this city the omnibuses run on Sundays. Rails are laid on the streets for the Baltimore, the Harrisburg, and the New York rail-roads. The passengers are taken up at convenient stations in the city, and the cars are drawn by horses till they have fairly cleared the houses, when locomotive engines are attached to them. This is found to be a very great convenience; but children are occasionally injured by heedlessly running on the rails.

*Pulmonary Consumption.*—The late Dr. Benjamin Rush regarded consumption as an inflammatory disease, and applied

to it very active treatment. Dr. Parrish told me that he was early struck by the speedy and never-failing death of Rush's patients. Two young students became ill of the disease in the beginning of winter: one of them followed Dr. Rush's advice, and was dead in a few months; the other refused all treatment whatever, and lived double the time of the other, although he also died. Dr. Parrish in his own practice abandoned Dr. Rush's treatment, and recommended air and exercise as abundantly as the strength of the patients permitted; he also advised them to brave, as far as possible, the weather, and to use little medicine. He resorted to bleeding and blistering only when unequivocal symptoms of local inflammation were present, superadded to the tuberculous disease. By this method he was more successful than Dr. Rush. He saved a few, and prolonged, to some extent, the lives of almost all his patients. I have read, with much interest, his exposition of the subject in vols. 8, 9, and 10, of the North American Medical and Surgical Journal.

*The Education of the People.*—A friend has called my attention to an article in Blackwood's Magazine for February, 1839, No. 280, reprinted here. The object of it is to show that the mass of the people never can become enlightened and refined; that, therefore, education can render them only uneasy and restless; that ignorance is to them the parent of contentment; but that, if they must be educated, a religious education is the only one fitted to do them good. It renders them patient, humble, and moral, and relieves the hardships of their present lot by the prospect of a bright eternity. "How strangely," said my friend, "do such sentiments sound in this country, where we must enlighten and refine the mass of the people or perish, for they rule our destinies. The author obviously considers England as the world, and the present condition of her people as the only one in which the human race can ever exist! If the article be written in good faith, the author needs much to be educated himself. If he is an aristocrat or a priest, endeavoring to prop up a system which devotes eight out of every ten of the English people to toil and ignorance, without prospect of relief on this side of the grave—for the benefit of the remaining two—he deserves to be doomed to undergo this fate himself, that he may know by experience the efficacy of his own prescriptions for human misery."

*Chimney-Sweeps.*—The chimney-sweeps here are young Negro boys. As they glide through the streets in quest of employment, they have a peculiar and melodious cry, slightly resembling a Tyrolese "yoddlle."

April 1. Ther. 40°. "*The Colored American.*"—This is

the title of a weekly newspaper for the use of the colored people of the United States. It has reached No. 2 of vol. iii. It consists of four pages, each containing four columns; the price is \$2 per annum. The paper of the 30th of March has been sent to me because it contains an attack on Phrenology, a denial of its utility, and a commendation of the philosophy of Dr. Thomas Brown, and that of Mr. Young of Belfast. It is edited by Samuel Cornish and James M'Cune Smith. I am told that one of the editors is a colored gentleman, who studied medicine in Edinburgh, and imbibed the prejudices of his teachers against the science, and that he is now laboring to transfer them to his colored brethren.

*Female Delicacy.*—In my first course of lectures in Philadelphia, I endeavored to point out the connection between beauty in the proportions and forms of the human figure, and health. The handsomest figure is one in which the abdomen, the chest, and the head, are all well developed; and this proportion is also most favorable to health; because on the first depends digestion, on the second respiration, and on the third mental energy. The limbs will rarely be found deficient where the proportions of these regions are favorable. I recommended to my audience the study of the human figure in statuary and painting, not only as an interesting object of taste, but as capable of conveying knowledge of great practical utility. A mother, with an eye familiar with those proportions, and instructed in their relations to health, would watch, with increased attention, the habits, postures, and nutrition of her children. If she saw the abdomen tending to become tumescent, the chest flat, and the head enlarged, she would early become aware that there was some deviation from the laws of health, and thus by timely remedies might prevent serious disease. There is no inherent indelicacy in the human figure. It is the workmanship of the Creator, the temple of the mind, and there is impressed on it a beauty of form and an elegance of proportion that render it capable of exciting the most pure and refined impressions in a cultivated and virtuous mind. Where indelicacy is felt, its source must be looked for, not in the object, but in licentious feelings, or in a perverted or neglected education in the spectator. That individual who is able to associate only impure ideas with the most exquisite specimens of the fine arts, resembles a man in whom the aspect of a rich and beautiful domain should excite only feelings of envy, cupidity, and discontent.

These views appeared to me to be well received; and some friends even commended them as useful in tending to correct that false delicacy which injures the health and usefulness of many American women.

In the United States Gazette, however, (a Philadelphia paper), of the 28th of March, a letter subscribed "Candidus" appeared, which, in allusion to my lecture on this subject in the last course, characterised it as having been "equally revolting to the feelings of delicacy of many of the audience, as it was offensive to the national sense of propriety;" and the writer hoped "either that, notice being given of its being obnoxious, it will not again be introduced; or, if it be, that it will meet with a prompt and stern rebuke, which will prevent a repetition."

On the present occasion I intentionally reserved this topic for the last portion of my lecture on Physical Education. I then read the letter to my audience, and announced that I intended to repeat the remarks, and that they would form the conclusion of the lecture; but that, before proceeding, I should pause to allow any lady or gentleman to retire, whose delicacy might be offended by them. Ladies composed more than one-third of the audience, and many of them belonged to the Society of Friends. Not a single individual rose. I then stated, in answer to the remarks of *Candidus*, that "I did not respect any feeling merely because it was 'national.' It had been a 'national' feeling in Scotland to hate the English; in Britain to hate the French; and, in the year 1776, it was the quintessence of patriotism in England to hate you, the Americans; yet every one acknowledges that these were improper feelings in themselves, and that the fact of their being 'national' did not alter their character. *Candidus*, however, very properly asserts, that, in the present instance, the national feeling 'is founded alike on virtue and reason;' and, if so, it merits respect; but this is the point on which I differ from him in opinion. It has been announced by the highest authority, that 'To the pure *all* things are pure;' but, according to *Candidus*, there is one exception, and the verse should have contained the qualifying words, 'except the human figure.' Has the Creator framed any object that is essentially and necessarily indelicate? Impossible! But my leading design in this exposition is not to initiate you into a love of the fine arts, but to call your attention to the necessity of becoming acquainted with the structure of the human body, and the functions of its organs, as the very basis of a rational view of physical education; and in your country this is an important desideratum. You cannot know that structure without studying it; and you cannot study it without looking on it. If you neglect the study, you suffer. Do you believe, then, that the Creator has rendered it necessary for you to study his works, and at the same time made it sinful in you to do so?" Pointing to an anatomical drawing showing the intestines, the stomach, the liver, and the lungs, I said that "I had been assured that in which ever of



these organs a lady felt indisposed, she told her physician that she had a pain in her *breast*, misleading him, so far as she had the power to do so, by an erroneous statement of symptoms, and offering increased obstacles to the successful exertions of his skill for her own welfare. In some instances (as I have been told) this feeling of delicacy renders it extremely difficult for the physician to extract, even by the most pointed questions, real and necessary information from over-sensitive patients. This is false delicacy, and it should be corrected by knowledge. Fortified by these considerations, and also encouraged by the right spirit in which the ladies of Boston, New York, and this city, have received my remarks on the subject in my previous courses, it is my intention again to introduce it to your notice, and I hope to convince you, by your own experience, that it is quite possible to convey valuable information concerning it, without one indelicate emotion or idea being suggested to the mind." The audience repeatedly applauded these remarks as they were delivered, and testified their satisfaction by a loud and general burst of approbation at the close.

April 2. Ther. 53°. *New Lunatic Asylum*.—Dr. B. H. Coates kindly drove me about a mile and a half west from the city, over the Schuylkill river, to visit a new lunatic asylum, now erecting by the Trustees of the Pennsylvania Hospital, for pauper and other lunatics. The edifice is 420 feet long, is two stories high, in addition to the sunk floor, and contains a long corridor with cells on each side. It is built of sandstone-rubble, except the centre, which is cased with *droved* sandstone, veined very like marble. There are two small wings, and the centre is ornamented with a dome. It stands on a gentle eminence fronting the south, in a wooded and cultivated country, and has 108 acres of land attached to it. It is said to be fire-proof, and to possess all the modern improvements for warming and ventilation; but it is not yet finished. The roof is complete, but the floors are not laid. It appears to be highly creditable to the trustees and architect under whose auspices it has been reared.

*Railroads in the United States*.—In conversing with an accomplished civil engineer, who had visited Europe, on the temporary character and unfinished appearance presented by the American railroads, he said that here a railroad is made in order to call forth population, commerce, and manufactures; whereas in England, they are constructed, because they are wanted by a dense, rich, and industrious population. He considered the American plan best suited to their own circumstances. Their works are sufficient to accomplish the main object—cheap and expeditions transportation. They will be improved as trade increases. Wherever the lines have been judiciously selected,

commanding thoroughfares from one important point of the Union to another, as from New York to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to Baltimore, railroads have been eminently successful.

*The Academy of Natural Sciences.*—I attended a meeting of the Academy this evening. It was instituted on 25th January, 1812, and incorporated in 1817 by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. It has a hall at the corner of Twelfth and George streets, and a valuable and extensive collection of objects of natural history. These are displayed in upright and horizontal cases: they are ranged in accordance with the most approved systems; and their generic and specific names (wherever these can be ascertained) together with the localities and the names of the donors, are attached to each article. The "Journal of the Academy" was commenced in 1817, and continues to be published, not at stated intervals, but when valuable communications have accumulated to suffice for a number. It has reached to seven 8vo volumes, and is widely circulated among scientific persons in America and Europe. It is replete with important details in every branch of science, and is reputed to contain a greater body of facts in reference to the technical natural history of the United States than any other work. The Academy possesses also the richest library on natural history in the United States. It is indebted for a great part of its property and prosperity to its president, William Maclure, Esq., who has bestowed on it several splendid donations.\*

*The Pursuit of Wealth.*—The Americans are taunted by the British for their exclusive devotion to the pursuit of wealth; but in this respect, as well as in many others, they are the genuine heirs of English dispositions, with a better apology for their conduct. One of the earliest injunctions of the Creator to man was, "to multiply and replenish the earth." The Americans have a fertile country of vast extent placed before them inviting them to fulfil this commandment; and it would argue mental lethargy or imbecility were they to disobey the call. But how can a wilderness be peopled and replenished without the creation of wealth? Houses must be built and furnished; clothes and implements of husbandry must be manufactured; animals must be reared; yet these are the constituent elements of wealth. The fertile soil of the west, therefore, invites the active and enterprising spirits of each generation to advance and take possession of it. Within two years after it is cleared, it places in the hands of the occupier a surplus produce after supplying his own wants.

\* "Notice of the Academy of Natural Sciences," 1837. In November last, it did me the honor to elect me a corresponding member.

He sends this surplus to the eastern cities to be sold, and receives in exchange the various manufactured articles which constitute the conveniences and ornaments of civilised life. The demand of the west on the capital and industry of the east, is incessant and increasing. The rich lands of the west, aided by the rapid increase of population, present investments which can scarcely fail, after a few years, to yield an immense profit to the adventurer; and this legitimate drain for capital affects profits and interest, and the value of property all over the Union. There are revulsions, no doubt, but the wave never recedes so far as it had advanced, and those who fail are generally men who have engaged in enterprises far beyond the measure of their capital and legitimate credit. Were the people of the east, therefore, to despise riches, and to become merely the cultivators of literature, philosophy, the fine arts, and all the social graces, they would be fit subjects for their own lunatic asylums. The *physique* must precede the *morale* in the order of nature. We must be well lodged, clothed, and nourished, and altogether physically comfortable, before we can bend our minds successfully to refinement, philosophy, and the investigations of abstract science. The people of the United States, therefore, are only fulfilling a law of nature. They are peopling and replenishing the desert, and devoting themselves to this duty with a degree of energy, assiduity, and success that is truly astonishing. It is in vain to blame their institutions or their manners for these results. They owe their origin to nature.

But while I thus hold that the Americans do not merit disapprobation for pursuing wealth as their national vocation, I regard the impulse which prompts them to do so, as one which needs to be watched, and within certain limits resisted, lest it should swallow up all other virtues. Their real prosperity depends on the co-ordinate activity of their acquisitive with their moral and intellectual faculties. If their external circumstances stimulate Acquisitiveness with a power equal to 10, they should put on a power of moral, religious, and intellectual cultivation equal to 15, to guide and restrain it. They are endeavoring to do so by their public schools; and if they succeed, they will in due season become a magnificently great nation; great equally in the possession of physical and moral civilisation.

The Americans, although highly acquisitive, are not sordid as a nation. They expend their wealth freely, and where the object meets with their approbation, they are even munificent in their donations. The sums contributed by them to religious and benevolent societies, to the building of churches and colleges, and to the support of hospitals and similar institutions, are very large. I frequently heard of strangers coming from distant parts

of the country to the cities, soliciting subscriptions to build churches, and was told that they were successful. Unitarians have repeatedly told me, that they had subscribed to build evangelical churches; but no instance was mentioned to me (though such may not be uncommon) in which an evangelical believer had contributed to the erection of a Unitarian edifice. I heard a scientific gentleman defend his countrymen and himself against the charge of excessive acquisitiveness, in the following pithy sentences: "I have always," said he, "pursued wealth, because I saw that I could accomplish nothing without it. A sordid mind is indicated by the uses which it makes of property, and not by the pursuit of it. I employ two men to assist me in my scientific analyses and experiments, and pay them \$1000 per annum. If I had not bought lots of ground which have doubled in value, I could not have done this; so that in point of fact the money acquired by my lots is devoted to the extension of science."

April 3. Ther. 50°. *Cause of the Decline of Quakerism.*—I have already mentioned that a number of individuals left the society of Friends at the time of the separation between the orthodox and the followers of Elias Hicks. A sagacious old Scotsman, who has been many years a citizen of Philadelphia, gave me a novel theory of the decline of Quakerism. "The real cause of it," said he, "is the excessive multiplication of banks. The paper currency is so abundant, and so recklessly issued, that a spirit of gambling speculation has seized the whole community, against which Quakerism cannot maintain itself. Farming is the only occupation, consistent with the simplicity of Quaker principles, which is left to them." (a) The same individual summed up his character of the Americans, the result of forty years' observation, in these words: "They are most awful braggars; there is no end or limit to their boasting; yet they are the most active people I ever saw. If they only knew how to go right, there is nothing which they might not achieve."

*Sunday Travelling.*—The running of the railroad cars on Sundays from Philadelphia to Columbia, is announced and apologised for, as indispensable to overtaking the greatly extended spring trade of this season, and a promise is given, that the arrangement is only temporary, with a view to forwarding an accumulating mass of goods. In the eastern states, the steamboats and stage-coaches, except the mails, do not run on Sundays; but there are morning and evening trains on the railroads for passengers.

(a) The postulatam for which this Scotsman's theory was framed, turns out to be imaginary. Quakerism is not on the decline. The numbers of the society of Friends are annually on the increase.

*Franklin's Grave.*—After at least ten unsuccessful attempts to find open the gate of the burial-ground in Mulberry street, corner of Fifth street, in which Benjamin Franklin is interred, I succeeded in gaining admission to it to-day. The number of funerals which one sees is strikingly small for so large a city, and this indicates a young population. Franklin's grave is covered by a large marble slab, lying on the ground, on which is inscribed:

|          |   |           |
|----------|---|-----------|
| BENJAMIN | } | FRANKLIN, |
| AND      |   |           |
| DEBORAH  |   |           |
|          |   | 1790;     |

and nothing more. On a similar slab, to the left, and exactly in the same form, are inscribed the words, "Richard and Sarah Bache, 1811." These were his daughter and her husband. The situation is favorable for the erection of a monument, and Franklin certainly merits, although his memory does not stand in need of, this mark of respect.

*Imprisonment for Debt.*—In conversing on this subject with an Englishman who has been settled for some years, and has prospered, in this country, but in whom not one English notion has been changed, he said to me—"When you go home, recommend this country as a paradise for rogues. Most of the states have abolished imprisonment for debt, and every one who chooses may issue bank-notes. A well varnished story will enable any one to obtain credit; and having obtained it, there is no law to force him to pay. But for honest men this is not the country at all. Republican institutions will never succeed." He should have added, that imprisonment for debt is not abolished where fraud can be established. There are two sides to every question. I have had opportunities of observing the operation of the law of imprisonment for debt in the old country, and do not think that the United States would commit a great error in abolishing it.

A man who sells goods is pursuing his own interest fully as much as he who buys. In the keen competition to effect sales, sellers use every art of persuasion to induce their customers to buy, and also strive to obtain prices as high as possible. Many well-meaning, but weak men, and also many speculative men, are by these means drawn into purchases far beyond the limits of their regular means of selling. When the day of payment comes, the creditor trusts to the law to enforce his claim; and,

through terror of a jail, the buyer, to raise the needful funds, sells his goods at a loss. By a few repetitions of this error, he becomes insolvent; but for some time after this takes place, he continues in possession of as much means and credit as to be able to proceed with his trade. He must now, however, buy and sell largely in order to raise means to meet his obligations as they become due. Acute sellers soon discover that he is in this situation; they calculate how long he will be able to proceed before his losses accumulate to such an amount as to force him to stop payment altogether; and they add per centage to per centage on the price as they reckon the day of failure to approach. If the buyer be a man of resources, he may go on for two or three years in insolvency, and during all this time the persons who sell to him are "sponging him," as they term it, by ever-increasing additions to their demands. He is in such a condition, that he must sell, or fail and go to prison. He sells cheap that he may raise money to avert this catastrophe as long as possible; and in order to sell, he must buy. Thus, between buying at high, and selling at low prices, he at last arrives at the goal, and openly declares himself bankrupt.

To allow the seller, who has partly induced, and partly profited by this course of transactions, to wind up his proceedings by putting the debtor in jail, is neither just nor beneficial. If the seller be deprived of this power, he will trust to his own sagacity in selecting honest men for his customers, and he will also be more attentive to their interests. In short, instead of trusting to the law to enable him to reap the fruits of his own rapacity, he must conduct trade on higher moral and intellectual principles.

This is no imaginary representation. I have seen the whole machinery in operation, and traced its effects. One example may be mentioned in illustration. A mercantile friend told me that a Mr. B——, whom we both knew, had come to him and looked at some goods. "He had rarely dealt with me before," said my friend, "but I had judged from his forced sales that he was below par (insolvent); and from the prices at which he was purchasing from Mr. C. and Mr. D., that he must be pretty far gone. I wished, therefore, to get rid of him; and I asked ten per cent. above the market price. To my astonishment, he at once accepted my offer. He selected another parcel of goods, and asked the price. Being already farther in with him than I had intended, I added fifteen per cent. to the price of these. He did not hesitate a moment, but purchased them also. He proceeded to a third parcel, and asked the price. Being resolved now to pull him up at all hazards, I demanded twenty-five per cent. above the market price: he grumbled a little, but gave in,

and desired me to send the whole purchases to his warehouse. The prices amounted to 500*l*. I was convinced that he was now in desperation, and that an immediate bankruptcy might be expected, and I closed the conference by asking him for 'security' for the payment. He turned on his heel and walked off without speaking a word; I retained the goods, and within a fortnight he was in the Gazette as a bankrupt." I subsequently had the means of tracing the transactions of Mr. B—— for several years, and observed that he had run the course before described, and that this was the last and desperate effort to maintain a regularly sinking trade.

I have already described the very strong excitement which the natural circumstances of the Union present to the acquisitive propensity in the Americans. Nevertheless they are incessant in their calls for additional stimulants. They create oceans of paper currency, and proclaim the "credit system" as indispensably necessary to their very existence as a commercial people. With all deference to their judgment, it appears to me that they stand in need of checks and regulators on their acquisitiveness, instead of stimulants. The natural rate of profit is so high, and they are so active and economical, that, if they had only some adequate machinery to regulate their movements, they would advance with extraordinary rapidity to wealth. If the majority of them were sufficiently enlightened to discern (as many of the judicious and better informed among them do) their true position, and the means of promoting their real welfare, they would check their banks, their credit system, and their vast speculations, and advance more leisurely in pursuit of gain. The Scripture proclaims that he that *hasteneth* to be rich falleth into a snare; and the Americans afford striking examples of the truth of this proposition. The philosophy of the text is, that capital, time, and labor, are necessary to the production of wealth; that before we can legitimately obtain it, we must give an equivalent, and every equivalent also requires time, labor, and capital, for its production. He who hastens to be rich, therefore, tries to create wealth, or to acquire it, without complying with these natural conditions. But Nature is too strong for him; he is blind to the obstacles which she presents to his success, and he falls into a snare. It is true that, in a rich and extensive country, a few individuals may, by gambling and speculation, acquire sudden wealth; but some others must lose as much. Time and labor must have been employed to produce the wealth before it could be lost and won; and these men produce nothing. They shuffle property from one hand to another, but the nation is in no degree made richer by their speculations. All young Americans, therefore, should be trained to understand the real laws by which wealth is produced and dis-

tributed, and to submit to them as they would do to the commandments of the Bible. The natural effect of the abolition of imprisonment for debt is to render merchants more cautious whom they trust. It should check, rather than encourage, "the credit system."

While, however, the Americans appear to me to have pursued the right road in abolishing imprisonment for debt, they are, from all that I can learn, much in fault with respect to their bankrupt laws. Their laws leave debtors in possession of the power of distributing their effects among their creditors, and of conferring preferences on favorites, to an extent that is unknown in other civilised countries. Besides, there is no general bankrupt law extending over the whole Union; and as each state is to the others a foreign jurisdiction, a man may be discharged of his debts in one state, and an undischarged bankrupt in another, without the possibility of remedying his condition. When imprisonment for debt is abolished, there should be a cheap, efficacious, and general law for transferring the whole property of a debtor directly to his creditors for equal distribution, and he should have no power whatever either to obstruct or regulate the operation of the law. Provision should be made, also, for his obtaining a complete discharge with consent of his creditors, or a large proportion of them, but not otherwise. At present no public notice is given of bankruptcy; so that an individual may be utterly bankrupt in New York, and the fact be unknown in Philadelphia, unless by private communication. This opens a wide door to fraud, and to unprincipled speculation. If the Americans knew their real interests, they would publish the name of every bankrupt in every town of the Union, as is done in Britain, where the official intimations of bankruptcy are transferred from the London and Edinburgh Gazettes into every newspaper in the kingdom. Honest men gain by this information, for it enables them to know the speculators. Honorable merchants may once or twice become insolvent by misfortune; but there are individuals who pass their lives in swindling and bankruptcy, and the American method of concealment is admirably adapted to their purposes.

It is only a few years since a bankrupt law was passed even in Massachusetts, one of the most enlightened states in the Union. On the 19th of March 1835, a report on the subject of "insolvent debtors," by the Hon. Horace Mann, as chairman of a committee, was presented to the senate of that state. It is replete with admirable views eloquently expressed. The following sentences should be adopted as maxims by the legislatures of every civilised country:—"The committee entertain a firm conviction that the legal relation between debtor and creditor exerts



a commanding influence, not only over individual and national wealth, but also over private and public morals. To establish this relation upon the foundations of natural justice, is one of the primary duties of government." \* \* \* "Your committee will not enlarge upon the obligation and utility of making the *legal* coincident with the *moral* code. In many minds ideas of right and wrong are but a transcript of positive enactment or judicial decision; and legal rules are their ultimate conscience. Hence, unjust laws never stop with extinguishing an individual right, or inflicting an individual wrong. They fashion and adapt the general mind to injustice. They bind the foreign substance of error to the heart, until the fibres close around it, and it becomes ineradicable for ever. Erroneous principles in legislation commend the injustice they ordain; they impress the form of right upon the substance of wrong; and they withhold from truth its highest advantage—the privilege of being seen. But true legislation, which is the art of applying the rules of right to the affairs of men, should develop those rules, give them a bold and conspicuous prominence, and, illuminating them with a light of its own, make them universally legible." Effect was given, to a considerable extent, to these principles in the act for "the relief of poor prisoners," and in the "Insolvent Act" passed by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1838, chap. 163.

I find a number of vague ideas afloat among the mercantile classes here, which have become maxims, but which appear extremely questionable to a stranger. It is said that "this is a new country, and we must encourage enterprise: although we have many speculators and numerous bankruptcies, yet these are always helping forward the general advance of the country; the individuals may fail, but the results of their speculations remain, and add to the general wealth." The answer to these views is, that wealth can be created only by capital, labor, and time; and that these may be applied prudently or imprudently. The men who apply them with judgment and discretion succeed, and benefit equally themselves and their country; those who, in the employment of them, infringe every law of nature by which the creation and distribution of wealth are regulated, are speculators, and so far from their enterprises benefitting the community, the fact is directly the reverse. They waste the resources which in more prudent and skilful hands would have produced double the advantages which they bring out of them. It is true that the houses which they build, or the manufactories which they erect, remain, and that in the course of years the wealth and population of the country advance and render them useful; but they were not wanted at the time they were built, the capital ex-

pendent on them has been unprofitably locked up, and the enterprise and industry of wiser and better men, from whose hands it has been withdrawn by the speculators, have been paralysed for years. The American people appear to me to be so extremely active and enterprising, that no encouragement needs to be held out to speculators to engage in bold schemes in order to promote public prosperity. On the contrary, they will prosper more rapidly, and enjoy far greater felicity, if by their laws and institutions they will put a check on such spirits, and encourage the honest, the wise, and the prudent, to lead them forward in their commercial career.

April 4. Ther. 53°. *How to choose a Sect.*—The following anecdote is *not* an old Joe Miller. I relate it because, while it illustrates the kindly feeling which reigns among the members of a sect towards each other, it shows how this amiable trait of character may be taken advantage of by rogues. A bookseller, a native of Germany, came from England, settled in one of the large American cities, and began business in a moderate way. He had a stock of neatly printed bibles which he was anxious to dispose of. After he had been established for some time, he called on an old-established citizen, and told him that he thought of joining one of the religious bodies of the town, and wished to know which of them was the most influential. His friend imagined that he was in joke, and said that there was a simple way of solving that question. He took up the *directory* and showed the inquiring bookseller the lists of the directors of all the public institutions. He desired him to write down their names, and he would tell him what sects they belonged to. The bookseller accordingly folded his paper for columns, and wrote on the heads of them, "Presbyterian," "Methodist," "Catholic," "Quaker," "Baptist," "Unitarian," "Universalist," "Jew," &c., and under these heads entered the names of the directors of the institutions, according to the information of his friend. The result was a clear demonstration that the "Presbyterians" were by far the most numerous and powerful sect in the public institutions, whence the inference was drawn that in all probability they would be the most influential in the general affairs of the city. He thanked the gentleman (who still believed that it was a jest) and departed. But it was neither a joke nor a mistake. The bookseller found out which was the wealthiest presbyterian congregation, offered to join them, and presented a handsome gift to the church, and neatly bound copies of his bible to the minister and elders. He was admitted a member, was widely praised among the congregation, sold all his bibles, obtained extensive credit, had a large store and ample trade, and might have done

well. But, like too many others, he speculated and ruined himself. At his bankruptcy, the rich men of the congregation were his creditors, one to the extent of \$20,000, another of \$15,000, another of \$10,000, and so forth, every man according to his means!

This is no uncommon occurrence in other countries, and it is a proof of the real Christian spirit of the individuals who are thus cheated. Having entire confidence in the efficacy of their own faith to regenerate the human mind, and being perfectly sincere themselves, they do not suspect the roguery of others. In reference to an individual of a character very similar to this, who had come from Scotland, I was asked, "How do you reconcile the strange and striking discrepancy between the religious professions and the commercial reputation of your countryman Mr. A. B.?" The explanation which I offered, and which I knew to be supported by facts, was, that in the class of persons to which Mr. A. B. belongs, the organs of Acquisitiveness, Secretiveness, and Veneration, are *plus*, and those of Conscientiousness *minus*. The large Veneration gives them a strong interest in religious worship, and to this extent their professions are sincere. It reveals to them also the power of this sentiment in other minds. Their large Secretiveness and deficient Conscientiousness, when combined with acute intellect, render them apt at swindling and deceit; and thus accomplished, they are tempted to employ the religious feeling as a means of gratifying their Acquisitiveness.

Many religious persons refuse to believe in the possibility of any individual being sincere in his religious feelings, and at the same time dishonest. They conceive that his religious professions must in such a case be entirely hypocritical. The great cause of their erroneous judgment on this subject, is that, in their conception of religion, they always include morality, and hence conclude that wherever devoutness is really present, morality must necessarily be so also. They are right in holding that the Christian religion embraces both faith and practice, and that no man is a true Christian who does not "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with his God." But they err in not knowing that the natural aptitude of individual minds to discharge these three duties, depends mainly on the size of three separate cerebral organs; and that one or two of them may be small, and the third large, or *vice versa*; that, for example, the organs of Benevolence and Conscientiousness may be large, and that of Veneration small, and then the individual will be greatly disposed to justice and mercy, but very little to the externals of devotion; while in another the proportions may be reversed, and he may be greatly interested in acts of devotion, but very

little addicted to honesty and goodness. When religious men shall rise above their prejudices, and use Phrenology as a means of discovering natural dispositions, they will find less difficulty than at present in discriminating between the sheep and the goats within their fold.

*The Deaf and Dumb Institution.*—Every Thursday at half-past 3 o'clock there is a public exhibition of the manner in which the deaf and dumb are taught. This exhibition, which is well attended by the citizens, serves to support the interest of the public in the institution, and enables strangers to obtain information concerning it without interrupting the ordinary studies of the pupils. Three boys and three girls appeared. They wrote words and sentences with readiness and intelligence, illustrative of any idea or subject that was proposed to them. One of the girls told a little story, in which she employed not only words spelled by the fingers, but also signs and natural language. She was exceedingly animated. Phrenology reveals the natural attitudes, and the expressions of the features and voice, which accompany the predominating activity of many of the faculties. This is called the natural language of the faculties; it is universal wherever man exists, and could be used to great advantage in the instruction of the deaf and dumb. We visited the workshops, and saw the boys making shoes and the girls sewing. The children are numerous, and they seemed healthy and happy. Mr. Hutton, their head teacher, was gentle, quiet, kind, and intellectual in his intercourse with them.

*Exclusion of Sectarianism from the Common Schools.*—On page 238 of this volume, I have quoted the tenth head of the public "regulations for common school districts," which provides that "the religious predilections of pupils and their parents or guardians shall be sacredly respected." It is only four or five years since this resolution was practically adopted by the board of directors of the common schools. Before that time, every teacher indoctrinated the children under his charge with his own notions. One was zealous in training up the children to be Calvinists and Presbyterians; on the floor above, a Baptist teacher was busy propagating his peculiar views; in another school a Roman Catholic teacher was infusing Catholicism, and next to him a Universalist was with equal zeal engaged in imbuing the youthful minds with his faith. The complaints of the parents were incessant, that their children were taught dangerous and heretical errors under the guise of religion; each applying these epithets to all opinions that differed from his own. At last it was proposed to prohibit all doctrinal instruction in the common schools, and to leave to parents, pastors, and Sunday school teachers, the duty of inculcating the peculiar tenets of

the different sects. At first this proposal was vigorously opposed, and described as "infidel;" each sect hoping to obtain the exclusive possession, if not of the whole, of at least a limited number, of the schools, which they should manage in their own way. All, however, stood firm in objecting to their neighbors obtaining the exclusive jurisdiction of any, as they were all supported out of a common fund, and, in the end, the exclusion of all was unanimously adopted, as the only practicable means of solving the difficulty. This rule is now in force, and is found to answer well. In the evenings of week-days, as well as on Sundays, I see troops of children going to the "lecture-rooms" under the churches, where they are taught the peculiarities of their faith by their several pastors.

*Defective Teaching in Common Schools.*—The infant school system has not flourished in Philadelphia. So far as I could discover, it has never been in operation in an efficient form, and it is now generally laid aside in the common schools. Pictures, and a few natural objects, may still be seen in some of the schools, but they are rarely if ever used. The great object aimed at, is to teach the children to read fluently. They read long passages with ease, without understanding the meaning of them. One of the female teachers, to whom I remarked this circumstance, acknowledged the fact, and said, in explanation of it, that the parents insisted on the children being rendered great readers; that they complained to the directors of the time spent in explaining words and teaching objects as being "lost;" and that the directors, to satisfy them, desired her to make them "read," and not to waste time in giving explanations. She obeyed, and certainly the children read with great fluency; but the meaning of the words is to a great extent unknown to them. In my lectures on education, I adverted to the errors of this mode of teaching, and told my audience that it reminded me of the mode of teaching English in a certain Highland school in Scotland. The children, whose vernacular tongue was Gælic, were taught to spell, pronounce, and read English correctly and fluently, and, at a public examination, they displayed such proficiency, that the clergymen present were about to compliment the teacher publicly on his meritorious exertions, when a friend of mine, one of the proprietors of the parish, struck by the mechanical tone of the reading, put several questions to the children regarding the signification of the passages which they had read. He found them ignorant of the meaning of the words. The teacher had omitted to translate the English into Gælic, and, although they could read and pronounce the words, they did not understand the former language.

The children in the Philadelphia schools are to some extent in a similar condition: they read works on the history of America and other subjects, the language of which is so far superior to the expressions contained in their domestic vocabulary, that, while unexplained, it is to them a foreign tongue. I urged on my audience the indispensable necessity to the welfare of the country that the education of American children should embrace solid instruction in things, and not consist of words merely; and that *training* also, or *daily discipline of the dispositions*, should be regarded as of great importance to them. I earnestly advised them to invite Mr. Wilderspin to visit their country, and to show them a few good infant and training schools in operation; after seeing which, they would not long tolerate their present inefficient system. I respectfully recommend to the trustees of the Girard College, if they wish to benefit Pennsylvania, to engage Mr. Wilderspin to spend six months in organising an infant and training school in their seminary. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, the most efficient schools are those which embrace most of his principles and practice.

*The Yellow Fever in Philadelphia.*—Upwards of thirty years ago, (1805), Philadelphia was visited with yellow fever, and the disease raged like a pestilence. Dr. Parrish, then a young man, volunteered to act as assistant resident physician in the Yellow Fever Hospital. He told me that he never experienced the least fear, and never was sick for a day. All the inhabitants who could leave the city had fled, and at noon it was still as at the midnight hour. The hospital was situated near the river Schuylkill, a short distance from town, and though for seven months he resided in it amidst the sick and the dying, yet he was happy. He was constantly engaged in discharging his duty, and no seven months of his life seemed to him so pure and bright in the retrospect as these. This is easily understood. He has a beautiful development of the organs of the moral sentiments, combined with fair intellect, and all these faculties glowed with beneficent and pleasing excitement. His first convalescent patient was an old woman. When he saw symptoms of recovery, he removed her into a private apartment to relieve her from the shocking spectacles of the dead and the dying which filled the public ward. She petitioned to be carried back, it was so lonely to be left by herself in a room. He complied with her request, and she recovered. The attendants became so careless, that he often saw a man, when relieved from duty, instead of going into an adjoining house prepared for him to sleep in, enter a bed from which he had just removed a dead patient, wrap himself in the bed-clothes, sleep soundly, and take no harm. The

Catholic priests were constant in their attendance; while the clergymen of other denominations rarely ventured within the walls. In such scenes the celibacy of the Roman Catholic priesthood has a value.\* He saw an aged priest proceed to administer extreme unction to a woman who was fast dying. She refused to repeat certain words. He told her she could not be saved unless she complied. He explained, argued, and entreated. She continued obstinate, sunk back, and died. As she expired, the old priest shed a flood of tears. Dr. Parrish was deeply affected, and said that the scene carried home to him a strong conviction of the priest's sincerity and benevolence. At a subsequent period of my residence in the United States, I had the pleasure of meeting with Dr. Caldwell, of Louisville, who mentioned that he also had resided in the Yellow Fever Hospital as an assistant physician, and that, in his opinion, the exciting causes of the disease were confined to the town of Philadelphia. Of the hospital attendants, not one who had never entered the town was taken ill. Some who visited the town during the day were seized with the disease; and of those who slept all night in it scarcely one escaped. He never entered the town, and enjoyed perfect health.

*Dr. Parrish on Liberty of Conscience.*—A few years ago, a young lady wrote a letter to Dr. Parrish, who is a Hicksite Friend, in which she says—"I had no personal acquaintance with you. I never listened to your conversation on general topics, and probably never may, at any future period. But I have seen you at the couch of sickness; I have seen you, by the benignant smile of sympathy, soothing the suffering invalid, and, with accents of sweetness, cheering the room of sorrow. And, oh! I have said, Shall such a mind be inveigled into those absurdities and awful delusions, as ridiculous to every truly sober understanding, as they are dreadful to the view of any Christian! Shall such a mind be led captive in the most fearful species of enthrallment, that of blasphemy and infidelity, under the imposing garb of the most refined spirituality—of the most professedly sublime and elevated religion," &c. She prays that he may become an evangelical Presbyterian.

He wrote a reply characterised by Christian benignity in its most beautiful form. "In the extensive practice of my profession," says he, "for many years I have been accustomed to view poor, frail human nature in its most unveiled forms. The

\* I hope that I may be excused for mentioning, to the honor of the Scottish clergy, that they ventured boldly into the Cholera Hospitals at Edinburgh, and administered consolation to the sick and dying, at a time when that disease was regarded as even more formidable than the yellow fever.

longer I live, the greater is my compassion for erring humanity. I have observed, that, in the hour of deep affliction, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, Baptist, Roman Catholic, Friend, &c. &c., notwithstanding their various modes of faith, all call upon one common God and Father. Among these, none manifest more composure than the Catholic, after confession and absolution by his priest. Thou wouldst perhaps call him an idolater, when thou sawest him with the crucifix, on which his dying eye was reposing with confidence and consolation, as he was passing through the dark valley of the shadow of death. Were I in the same situation, and the priest were to offer me similar consolations, I should reject them at once, as 'absurd and ridiculous,' so far as they related to me. Yet never have I dared, at such a moment, to attempt to unsettle the mind of a Catholic by an exposition of my own religious views. I have also seen the poor despised Jew, calm and resigned on the bed of death, unshaken in the religion of his fathers. Surely these things should teach us a lesson of charity, remembering we are dust.

"I have often admired, and been humbled in beholding, the simplicity of the Gospel, as taught by our Divine Master. In the first place, he commissioned poor fishermen to be its promulgators. Does he refer us to nice theological distinctions—or are we called upon to test each other by opinions and speculations? Look at his plain directions delivered in his sermon on the Mount. Hear his positive declarations—'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit; wherefore, by their fruits ye shall know them.' And in the hour of final judgment, on what is that judgment predicated? Is it on orthodox opinions, or on practice? 'Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me drink, I was a stranger and ye took me in, naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me, in prison and ye came unto me,' &c.

"From the views now unfolded, it will be perceived, although thou art a Presbyterian and I am a Friend or Quaker, yet, with my present feelings, between us there must be no controversy. Claiming sincerity for myself, I award it fully to thee," &c.

"When I perceive the bitter fruits which are so often produced by the conflicting opinions of professing Christians, my mind is affected with sorrow; yet it is at seasons consoled by the reflection, that, happily for the human family, they are not to be finally judged by any earthly tribunal, but by a heavenly and compassionate Father, who pities his erring children; who sleeps not by day, nor slumbers by night; but who watches over us for



good, and numbers the very hairs of our heads: And although justice and judgment are the habitations of his throne, yet thanksgiving and praise be ascribed unto our God, for his mercy endureth for ever.”\*

\* This excellent man has gone to render his own account to the tribunal which he describes. A few days after he gave me a copy of this correspondence, I parted with him apparently in excellent health, and in a green old age. When I returned to Philadelphia in April 1840, he had just died. He was esteemed and beloved by men of all sects and parties in his native country, and I cannot withhold my feeble tribute of respect to his excellent qualities.



APPENDIX.



# APPENDIX.

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## No. I.

### LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE Legislature of Massachusetts, by the Revised Statutes, has ordained as follows:

§ 1. Every town containing fifty families or householders shall maintain, at its own charges, one school, for the instruction of children, by a competent teacher or teachers in orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and good behaviour. The school shall be kept open during six months in every year; or if the town shall support two or more schools, the terms of them all shall be equivalent to six months.

§ 2. If the town contains 100 families or householders, the school or schools shall be kept for twelve months in each year.

§ 3. If it contains 150 families, two such schools shall be kept for nine months each.

§ 4. If it contains 500 families, two such schools shall be kept for twelve months each.

§ 5. "Every town containing 500 families or householders, shall, besides the schools prescribed in the preceding section, maintain a school, to be kept by a master of competent ability and good morals, who shall, in addition to the branches of learning before mentioned, give instruction in the history of the United States, book-keeping, surveying, geometry, and algebra; and such last-mentioned school shall be kept for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the town, ten months at least exclusive of vacations, in each year, and at such convenient place, or alternately at such places, in the town, as the said inhabitants at their annual meeting shall determine; and, in every town containing 4000 inhabitants, the said master shall, in addition to all the branches of instruction before required in this chapter, be competent to instruct in the Latin and Greek languages, and general history, rhetoric, and logic."

§ 6. Gives authority to any town containing less than 500 families or householders, to establish and maintain such a school as is first mentioned in the preceding section, if they choose to do so.

§ 7. It shall be the duty of the president, professors, and tutors of the university at Cambridge, and of the several colleges, and of all preceptors and teachers of academics, and all other instructors of youth, to exert their best endeavours, to impress on the minds of children and youth, committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a

sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity, and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation, and temperance, and those other virtues, which are the ornament of human society, and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to endeavor to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above-mentioned virtues to preserve and perfect a republican constitution, and secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices.

§ 8. It shall be the duty of the resident ministers of the gospel, the select men, and the school committees, in the several towns, to exert their influence, and use their best endeavors, that the youth of their towns shall regularly attend the schools established for their instruction.

§ 9. The several towns are authorised and directed, at their annual meetings, or at any regular meeting called for the purpose, to raise such sums of money, for the support of the schools aforesaid, as they shall judge necessary; which shall be assessed and collected in like manner as other town taxes.

§ 10. The inhabitants of every town shall, at their annual meeting, choose, by written ballots, a school committee, consisting of three, five, or seven persons, who shall have the general charge and superintendence of all the public schools in such town.

§ 11. In any town, containing five hundred families, and in which a school shall be kept for the benefit of all the inhabitants, as before provided in this chapter, the school committee chosen under the preceding section, shall perform all the like duties, in relation to such school, the house where it shall be kept, and the supply of all things necessary therefor, which the prudential committee of a school district may perform in such district.

§ 12. Any town, containing more than four thousand inhabitants, may choose an additional number, not exceeding six, on such committee.

§ 13. The school committee shall require full and satisfactory evidence of the good moral character of all instructors, who may be employed in the public schools in their town, and shall ascertain, by personal examination, their literary qualifications and capacity for the government of schools.

§ 14. Every instructor of a town or district school shall obtain, of the school committee of such town, a certificate in duplicate, of his qualifications, before he opens such school, one of which shall be filed with the town treasurer, before any payment is made to such instructor on account of his services.

§ 15. The school committee shall determine the number and qualifications of the scholars, to be admitted into the school, kept for the use of the whole town, as aforesaid, and visit such school, at least quarter-yearly, for the purpose of making a careful examination thereof, and of ascertaining that the scholars are properly supplied with books; and they shall, at such examination, inquire into the regulation and discipline of the school, and the habits and proficiency of the scholars therein.

§ 16. The school committee, or some one or more of them, shall, for the purposes aforesaid, visit each of the district schools in their town, on some day during the first or second week after the opening of such schools respectively, and also on some day during the two weeks preceding the closing of the same; and shall also, for the same purposes, visit all the schools kept by the town, once a-month, without giving previous notice thereof to the instructors.

§ 17. The school committee of each town shall direct what books shall be used in the several schools kept by the town; and may direct what books shall be used in the respective classes.

§ 18. The scholars at the town schools shall be supplied by their parents, masters, or guardians, with the books prescribed for their classes.

§ 19. The school committee of each town may procure, at the expense of the town, or otherwise, a sufficient supply of such class books, for all the schools aforesaid, and shall give notice of the place where such books may be obtained; and the books shall be supplied to the scholars, at such prices, as merely to reimburse the expense of the same.

§ 20. In case any scholar shall not be furnished by his parent, master, or guardian, with the requisite books, he shall be supplied therewith by the school committee, at the expense of the town.

§ 21. The school committee shall give notice, in writing, to the assessors of the town, of the names of the scholars so supplied by them with books, and of the books so furnished, the prices thereof, and the names of the parents, masters, or guardians, who ought to have supplied the same; and said assessors shall add the price of the books so supplied to the next annual tax of such parents, masters, or guardians; and the amount so added shall be levied, collected, and paid into the town treasury, in the same manner as the town taxes.

§ 22. In case the assessors shall be of opinion, that any such parent, master, or guardian, is unable to pay the whole expense of the books so supplied on his account, they shall omit to add the price of such books, or shall add only a part thereof, to the annual tax of such parent, master, or guardian, according to their opinion of his ability to pay.

§ 23. The school committee shall never direct to be purchased or used, in any of the town schools, any school books, which are calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect of Christians.

The same act contains provisions for dividing large towns into school districts, and for managing them, and also for raising money by assessment to defray the expenses of school-houses. The tax is to be levied equally on all real and personal estate, held in the town, and on the machinery and real estate of manufacturing companies. If the inhabitants of any school district in a town shall refuse to raise the necessary sums to defray the expenses for building, repairing, or furnishing a school house, any five of their number, who pay taxes, may apply to the select men of the town, who are required to take the opinion of the town on the refusal; and if a majority of the voters of the town shall think the raising of the sums necessary, the same shall be levied from the inhabitants of the refusing district by the authority of the town. If any school district shall refuse to establish a school, or employ a teacher, the school committee of the town shall do so, at their expense.

Where two or more contiguous school districts, in adjoining school districts are too small to maintain schools advantageously in each, such districts may, if they see fit, unite and form one district, with all the powers and privileges, and subject to all the liabilities, of school districts; and they may again separate, by the vote of the inhabitants.

Every school district shall be a corporate body, to the effect of prosecuting and defending in actions, relating to the property or affairs of the district, and to hold property.

If any towns shall refuse or neglect to raise money for the support of schools, they shall forfeit a sum equal to twice the highest sum which had ever been before voted for the support of schools therein; and they shall

forfeit sums not under 100 dollars nor over 200 dollars, if they refuse or neglect to choose the several committees named in the act.

The school committees are required, on or before the 1st of May, to make official returns to the secretary of the commonwealth, stating the number and names of all the public schools kept in their district, the number of scholars in attendance in summer and winter, the number of months during which each school is kept; the number of teachers in each school in summer and in winter; their wages per month, including the value of board; the value of their board, and the amount of their wages exclusive of such value; the amount of money raised by taxes for the support of schools and teachers; the number and nature of incorporated academies and private schools in the district; during how many months they are kept, and by how many scholars they are attended; what number of persons there are in the towns between four and sixteen years of age; what books are used in the schools; and what is the amount of local funds, if any, applicable to the support of common schools.

The income of the Massachusetts school fund (except 100 dollars annually, which shall be paid to the commissioner of the Marshpee Indians, for the support of common schools among them) shall be apportioned and paid over to the mayor and aldermen of Boston, and to the select men of the other towns, for the use of the common schools therein, provided such towns shall have fulfilled the previously detailed duties prescribed to them by law, and shall have raised by tax on themselves, at least one dollar for every individual within the school districts between the ages of four and sixteen years; if they have failed in their duties, they receive nothing. The apportionment of the state's school fund shall be made according to the numbers of the children in each district between four and sixteen years of age.

An act of the Legislature passed in 1836, chap. 245, provides, that children under fifteen years of age shall not be employed in factories, unless they shall have attended school for "at least three months of the twelve months next preceding any and every year in which such child shall be so employed," under a penalty of fifty dollars for each offence, to be levied on the employer, to the use of the common schools in the town.

The legislature, by an act passed in 1837, chap. 147, authorises school districts to establish and maintain libraries and apparatus for the use of common schools; to raise money from the inhabitants by taxation for that purpose; and to establish "such rules and regulations as said district may adopt: provided that no greater sum than thirty dollars the first year, or ten dollars in any subsequent year, shall be expended for the purpose aforesaid."

An act of the same year, chap. 241, establishes a "Board of Education" for the state. The governor, with the advice and consent of the council, is authorised to appoint eight persons, who, together with the governor and lieutenant-governor, *ex officio*, shall constitute the board. The persons so appointed hold their office for eight years; but one retires every year, beginning with the member standing first on the list. The governor and council are authorised to fill all vacancies which may occur by death, resignation, or otherwise.

The powers and duties of the board are thus defined: "The Board of Education shall prepare and lay before the legislature, in a printed form, on or before the second Wednesday of January, annually, an abstract of the school returns received by the secretary of the Commonwealth, and the said Board of Education may appoint their own secretary, who shall receive a



reasonable compensation for his services, not exceeding one thousand dollars per annum, and who shall, under the direction of the Board, collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools, and other means of popular education, and diffuse as widely as possible throughout every part of the Commonwealth, information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies, and conducting the education of the young, to the end that all children in this Commonwealth, who depend upon common schools for instruction, may have the best education which those schools can be made to impart.

"The Board of Education, annually, shall make a detailed report to the Legislature of all its doings, with such observations as their experience and reflection may suggest, upon the condition and efficiency of our system of popular education, and the most practicable means of improving and extending it."

An act passed on 31st March 1838, chap. 55, provides that the members of the Board of Education "shall be reimbursed for all expenses incurred in the discharge of their duties; their accounts being first audited and allowed by the governor and council; and the incidental expenses of said Board shall be allowed and paid in the same manner."

An act passed on 13th April 1838, chap. 105, requires the school committees to make yearly detailed reports of the condition of their schools, pointing out particular improvements and defects in the method or means of education; which report shall be read in open town meeting, or be printed for the use of the inhabitants. A copy of it shall be deposited in the office of the town-clerk, and another copy transmitted to the secretary of the Commonwealth.

The selection of teachers for the town and district schools is given to the school committees, or to the "prudential committees," if the inhabitants prefer them.

The school committee in each town shall keep a record book for its votes, orders, and proceedings.

The members of the school committees, except in the city of Boston, shall be paid, by their respective towns, one dollar each per day for the time they shall be actually employed in discharging the duties of their office, together with such additional compensation as the town may allow.

The Board of Education is authorised to prescribe the forms of the returns to be made by the school committees; and also the form of a register to be kept in all the town and district schools; and to make up in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth, an abstract of the school returns.

The act of 18th April 1838, chap. 154, appropriates 140 dollars per annum, in addition to the 100 dollars formerly granted, to aid in the support of common schools among certain tribes of Indians in this Commonwealth.

The act of 21st April 1838, prescribes the duties and fixes the compensation of the secretary of the Board of Education as follows:—

"The secretary of the Board of Education, in addition to the duties required of him by the act establishing the Board of Education, shall, once in each year, at such times as the Board of Education may appoint, attend in each county of the Commonwealth a meeting of all such teachers of public schools, members of the school committees of the several towns, and friends of education generally in the county, as may voluntarily assemble at the time and place in the county designated by the Board of Education, of which sufficient notice shall by him be given; and shall then and there diligently apply himself to the object of collecting information of the condition of the public schools of such county, of the fulfilment of the duties of their office by all members of the school committees of all the towns, and the

circumstances of the several school districts in regard to all the subjects of teachers, pupils, books, apparatus, and methods of education: with the intent of furnishing all requisite materials for the report by law required from the Board of Education.

“ § 2. The compensation of the secretary of the Board of Education shall be one thousand five hundred dollars per annum, to be made in equal quarterly payments.”

The act of 25th April, 1838, chap. 189, establishes a variety of regulations concerning the union of school districts. Section 1st enacts, “ That any two or more contiguous school districts, in this commonwealth, may associate together and form a union district, for the purpose of maintaining a union school, to be kept for the benefit of the older children of such associated districts, if the inhabitants of each of such districts shall, at a legal meeting called for that purpose, agree to form such union by a vote of two-thirds of the legal voters thereof.” The subsequent sections of the act constitute these union schools into corporations, and provide for their maintenance and management, in the same way as in the case of the other schools before described.

The act of 18th March, 1839, provides, that “ in every town in the commonwealth there shall be kept in each year, at the charge of the town, by a teacher or teachers, of competent ability and good morals, one school for the instruction of children in orthography, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and good behavior, for the term of six months, or two or more such schools for terms of time which shall together be equivalent to six months; and in every school in this commonwealth containing fifty scholars as the average number, the school district or town to which such school belongs shall be required to employ a female assistant or assistants, unless such school district or town shall, at a meeting regularly called for that purpose, vote to dispense with the same.

Section 2d of the act provides, that any two or more contiguous school districts may associate together and form a union district for the purpose of maintaining a union school, to be kept for the benefit of the older children of such associated districts, if the inhabitants, by a vote of two-thirds of the legal voters, shall agree.

§ 3 enacts, that the free income of the Massachusetts school-fund shall be paid over, on the 15th of January in each year, to the mayors, aldermen, and select men, “ according to the number of persons in the cities and towns between the ages of four and sixteen years;” but under the provision that no apportionment shall be made to any town which shall have failed for the preceding year to make the school returns and reports required by law.

§ 4 and 5 relate to technical matters not necessary to be here repeated.

No. II.—STATISTICS OF LOWELL MANUFACTURES, JANUARY 1, 1838.  
COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

| CORPORATIONS,                             | Merrimack.                          | Hamilton.                           | Appleton.                      | Lowell.   | Suffolk.           | Tremont.                       | Lawrence.  | Middlesex.                                     | Boott Cotton Mills.                                       | Total.                             |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|---|------------------------------------|
| Capital Stock, . . . . .                  | 1,500,000                           | 1,000,000                           | 500,000                        | 500,000   | 450,000            | 500,000                        | 1,500,000  | 500,000  | 1,200,000   | 8,250,000                          |
| Number of Mills, . . . . .                | 5, and print works,                 | 3, and print works,                 | 2                              | Cotton and Carpet mill, 1 building, 5000 Cotton, besides Woollen. | 2                  | 2                              | 5, another of Bleachery preparing.                   | 2 and dye-house.                               | 4, \$ in operation, and 1 of Print-works, etc.            | 28, exclusive of Print-works, etc. |
| Spindles, . . . . .                       | 37,344                              | 20,992                              | 11,776                         | 144 Cotton, 70 Carpet, 375  | 11,264             | 11,520                         | 31,000   | 4,620  | 21,888  | 150,404                            |
| Looms, . . . . .                          | 1,253                               | 564                                 | 330                            | 9500 Carpet, 150 Rugs, 55,000.                                    | 352                | 404                            | 910  | 98bro' dcp'th 92cassimere                      | 654   | 4,861                              |
| Females employed, . . . . .               | 1,480                               | 830                                 | 470                            | 70 Carpet, 375  | 460                | 460                            | 1,250  | 350  | 700   | 6,295                              |
| Males do, . . . . .                       | 437                                 | 230                                 | 65                             | 150 Rugs, 55,000.   | 70                 | 70                             | 200  | 185  | 90  | 2,047                              |
| Yards made per week, . . . . .            | 200,000                             | 100,000                             | 100,000                        | 150 Rugs, 55,000.   | 90,000             | 125,800                        | 200,000  | 6300 Cassimere, 1500 Broadcloth.               | 95,000  | 983,600                            |
| Bales Cotton used in do, . . . . .        | 120                                 | 100                                 | 96                             | 70  | 86                 | 90                             | 180  | None.  | 69  | 817                                |
| Pounds Cotton wrought in do, . . . . .    | 50,000                              | 40,000                              | 36,000                         | 30,000  | 32,000             | 34,000                         | 64,000   | 600,000 lb. wool p'r an. & 3,000,000 Teascels. | 24,800  | 310,800                            |
| Yards dyed and printed do, . . . . .      | 165,000                             | 70,000                              | None.                          | None.   | None.              | None.                          | None.  | None.  | None.   | 235,000                            |
| Kind of goods made, . . . . .             | Prints and Sheetings, No. 22 to 40. | Prints and Drillings, No. 14 to 40. | Sheetings & Shirtings, No. 14. | Carpets, Rugs, Negro cloth  | Drillings, No. 14. | Sheetings & Shirtings, No. 14. | Printing cloth, sheet, g's, & shirt'g, No. 14 to 36. | Round cloths & cassim' res                     | drillings, no. 14; shirtings no. 46; prints cloth, no. 50 |                                    |
| Tons Anthracite Coal per annum, . . . . . | 5,200                               | 2,800                               | 400                            | 350   | 330                | 329                            | 650  | 500  | 450   | 11,009                             |
| Cords of Wood per annum, . . . . .        | 1,500                               | 1,250                               | 3,440                          | 500   | 70                 | 60                             | 60   | 1,000  | 70  | 4,810                              |
| Gallons of Oil, do, . . . . .             | 8,700                               | 6,500                               | 13                             | Olive Sperm 4000  | 3,840              | 3,692                          | 8,217  | Olive 11,000 Sperm 2,500                       | 5,300   | 63,489                             |
| Diameter of Water Wheels, . . . . .       | 30                                  | 13                                  | 13                             | 13  | 13                 | 13                             | 17   | 17 & 12  | 17  |                                    |
| Length of do, for each Mill, . . . . .    | 24                                  | 42                                  | 14                             | 60  | 42                 | 42                             | 60   | 46 & 21  | 60  |                                    |
| Incorporated, . . . . .                   | 1822                                | 1825                                | 1838                           | 1828  | 1830               | 1830                           | 1830   | 1830   | 1835  |                                    |
| Commenced operations, . . . . .           | 1823                                | 1825                                | 1838                           | 1828  | 1832               | 1832                           | 1833-4   | 1830   | 1836  |                                    |
| How warmed, . . . . .                     | Hot Air Furnace.                    | Hot Air Furnace.                    | Hot Air Furnace.               | Hot Air Furnace.  | Hot Air Furnace.   | Hot Air Furnace.               | Steam.   | Wakefield furnace & steam.                     | Steam & Hot Air.  |                                    |

## REMARKS.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Yards of Cloth made per annum, . . . . .   | 51,147,200 |
| Pounds of Cotton consumed, . . . . .   | 16,161,600 |
| Assuming half to be Upland, and half New Orleans and<br>Alabama, the consumption in bales, averaging 361 lb. each<br>is, . . . . . | 44,769     |

A pound of Cotton averaging . . . . . 32-10th yds.  
100 pounds of Cotton will produce 89 pounds of Cloth.

As regards the health of persons employed, great numbers have been interrogated, and the result shows, that 6 of the females out of 10 enjoy better health than before being employed in the mills—of males, one half derive the same advantage.

As regards their moral condition and character, they are not inferior to any portion of the community.

|   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| Average wages of Females, clear of board, . . . . . | \$1 75 per week.       |
| “ “ of Males, clear of Board, . . . . .             | 80 cts. per day.       |
| Medium produce of a Loom on No. 14 Yarn, . . . . .  | 38 to 49 yds. per day. |
| “ “ “ No. 30, . . . . .                             | 25 to 30               |

Average per Spindle, 11.1 yard per day.

Persons employed by the Companies are paid at the close of each month.

The average amount of wages paid per month, . . . . . \$106,000

A very considerable portion of the wages is deposited in the Savings Bank.

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| Consumption of Starch per annum, . . . . .   | 510,000 lb.      |
| “ of Flour for Starch in the Mills, Print Works<br>and Bleachery, per annum, . . . . . | 3,800 bbls.      |
| “ of Charcoal per annum, . . . . .   | 500,000 bushels. |

To the above named principal establishments, may be added, the extensive Powder Mills of O. M. Whipple, Esq.; the Lowell Bleachery; Flannel Mills; Card and Whip Factory; Planing Machine; Reed Machine; Flour, Grist, and Saw Mills;—together employing above 300 hands, and a capital of \$300,000. And in the immediate vicinity, Glass Works, and a Furnace supplying every description of castings.

The Locks and Canals Machine Shop, included among the 28 Mills, can furnish machinery complete for a Mill of 5000 Spindles in four months, and lumber and materials are always at command, with which to build or rebuild a mill in that time, if required. When building mills, locks and canals employ, directly and indirectly, from 1000 to 1200 hands.

## No. III.

TABLE SHOWING THE ATTENDANCE ON THE LECTURES ON PHRENOLOGY AT BOSTON.

| Date.                         | Weather. | Subjects.  | No. of Subscribers present. | Visitors present. | Complimentary Tickets. * |
|-------------------------------|----------|--|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1838.<br>Oct. 10.             | Rain.    | { The Brain a congeries of organs manifesting different mental faculties. }                  | 104                         | 101               | 50                       |
| " 12.                         | Do.      | { Size, <i>cæteris paribus</i> , a measure of Power, Temperaments, &c. }                     | 109                         | 27                | 50                       |
| " 16.                         | Clear.   | { Structure of Brain and Skull, Amativeness. }   | 162                         | 55                | 50                       |
| " 17.                         | Do.      | Philopro. Concentrat. Comb.  | 175                         | 64                | 50                       |
| " 19.                         | Rain.    | { Destruc. Aliment. Love of Life, Secretiv. Acquisit. }                                      | 142                         | 26                | 50                       |
| " 23.                         | Clear.   | { Construct. Self-Esteem. Love of Approb. Cautiousness. }                                    | 190                         | 62                | 50                       |
| " 24.                         | Rain.    | { Benev. Vener. Firmness. Conscientiousness. }   | 157                         | 43                | 50                       |
| " 26.                         | Clear.   | { Hope, Wonder, Ideality, Wit, Imitation. }  | 199                         | 62                | 50                       |
| " 29.                         | Do.      | { Individ. Form, Size, Weight, Coloring. }   | 204                         | 72                | 50                       |
| " 31.                         | Do.      | { Locality, Number, Order, Eventuality, Time, Tune. }  | 182                         | 42                | 50                       |
| Nov. 1.                       | Clear.   | { Language, Comparison, Causality, Materialism. }  | 178                         | 56                | 50                       |
| " 5.                          | Rain.    | Modes of activity of the faculties.  | 166                         | 78                | 50                       |
| " 7.                          | Clear.   | { Varieties of dispositions and talents. Moral Responsibility. }                             | 168                         | 108               | 50                       |
| " 8.                          | Rain.    | Physical Education.  | 147                         | 112               | 100                      |
| " 12.                         | Clear.   | Mental Education.  | 185                         | 134               | 100                      |
| " 14.                         | Do.      | { Application of Phrenology to the present and prospective condition of the United States. } | 189                         | 198               | 100                      |
| Which numbers divided by 16)  |          |  | 2657                        | 1240              | 950                      |
| gives an average attendance   |          |  |                             |                   |                          |
| of subscribers . . . . .      |          |  | 166                         | 77½               | 59½                      |
| of visitors, . . . . .        |          |  | 77½                         |                   |                          |
| of invited hearers, . . . . . |          |  | 59½                         |                   |                          |
| Total average,                |          |  | 303                         |                   |                          |

\* The Committee of Management were requested by me to present tickets to all the gentlemen of the press and their ladies, and to as many persons besides as were likely to be benefitted by the lectures, but who were unable to pay for admission. The number of tickets presented, as nearly as I could ascertain, was about a hundred, of which one-half probably were used.

At the close of the last lecture, the following complimentary resolutions were adopted by the class, and presented by a committee:—

“At a meeting of the Subscribers to the course of Lectures delivered by George Combe, Esq., in Boston, held at the Masonic Temple, November 14, 1838,

“Resolved—That this audience feel highly grateful to George Combe, Esq., for the generous philanthropy which has led him from the shores of his native country, to extend among us the principles of that philosophy which he has cultivated with so much success.

“Resolved—That we have derived from the lectures of Mr. Combe much instruction and delight; and we believe that his investigations have shed a valuable light on the physical, intellectual, and moral constitution of man; and that his labors are eminently calculated to promote the progress of the human race in civilisation, virtue, and religion.

“Resolved—That these resolutions be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and that the following persons, namely, John Pickering, Charles G. Loring, John Pierpont, Horace Mann, S. G. Howe, and George Darra-cott, be a committee to present these resolutions to Mr. Combe.

A true copy,

Attest.

“NAHUM CAPEN, *Secretary.*

ABBOT LAURENCE, *Chairman.*”

“To Geo. Combe, Esq.

*Boston, Nov. 13, 1838.*

“A large number of our citizens having expressed a desire of giving you some public testimonial of their personal regard, and of their respect to you as a teacher of mental and moral philosophy, a meeting was held for that purpose on Friday last.

“The undersigned were appointed a committee to carry into effect the wishes of the meeting; and, as the result of their deliberations, they beg to ask your acceptance of a piece of plate, as a testimonial of the affection and respect of your friends in Boston.

“They are desirous that the presentation should be accompanied by some ceremony—and they propose that it shall be followed by a social entertainment, in order that ladies, as well as gentlemen, may have an opportunity of paying their respects to Mrs. Combe as well as yourself.

“Will you have the goodness to name some evening when it will be convenient for you to attend the presentation.

“With much respect, we are, dear Sir, yours most truly,

“JNO. PICKERING.

“CHARLES G. LORING.

“S. G. HOWE.

“S. E. SEWALL.

“NAHUM CAPEN.”

Nov. 15.—This evening an elegant entertainment was given to Mrs. Combe and myself by above one hundred members of the class, ladies and gentlemen, when a handsome silver tea-urn was presented to me in a classical and complimentary speech, by Dr. Samuel George Howe, in name of the individuals who had attended my lectures. It bears the following inscription:—“To George Combe, from his friends in Boston, Massachusetts, 1838.”

## No. IV.

## LECTURES AT NEW YORK.

|          |                     | Subscribers. | Visitors. | Complimentary.* |
|----------|---------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|
| 1838.    |                     |              |           |                 |
| Nov. 19. | Clear.              | 134          | 253       | 50              |
| " 21.    | Do.                 | 213          | 140       | 50              |
| " 24.    | Do.                 | 243          | 106       | 50              |
| " 26.    | Do.                 | 235          | 126       | 50              |
| " 28.    | Do.                 | 225          | 76        | 50              |
| Dec. 1.  | Do.                 | 223          | 82        | 50              |
| " 3.     | Mist.               | 183          | 81        | 50              |
| " 5.     | Clear.              | 151          | 55        | 50              |
| " 8.     | Snow.               | 190          | 114       | 50              |
| " 10.    | Clear.              | 192          | 81        | 50              |
| " 12.    | Do.                 | 187          | 72        | 50              |
| " 15.    | Snow.               | 212          | 99        | 50              |
| " 17.    | Clear.              | 196          | 65        | 75              |
| " 19.    | Do.                 | 226          | 83        | 75              |
| " 22.    | Do.                 | 205          | 100       | 75              |
| " 24.    | Do.                 | 223          | 146       | 75              |
|          |                     | 16) 3238     | 1679      | 900             |
|          |                     | 202          | 104       | 56              |
|          |                     | 104          |           |                 |
|          |                     | 56           |           |                 |
|          |                     | —            |           |                 |
|          | Average Attendance, | 362          |           |                 |

At the close of the lectures, the following resolutions approving of the lectures, and a vote of thanks, were presented to me by a highly respectable committee:—

“ At a meeting of the class which attended at Clinton Hall the lectures of Mr. George Combe, on Phrenology, held subsequently to the close of his course, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

“ Resolved,—That the members of the class who have attended the course of Phrenological Lectures delivered by George Combe, Esq., at Clinton Hall, entertain a lively sense of obligation to the distinguished lecturer for the valuable information he has communicated to us during the lectures just closed; that we have been greatly pleased and instructed by the clear, felicitous, and convincing manner in which he has imparted to us his varied and profound knowledge of the philosophy of mind, and that we regard Phrenology as eminently calculated to advance the cause of education, to improve

\* The Committee were requested to bestow free tickets to as many persons as they considered likely to be benefitted by the lectures, and as were not able to pay for them, and also to the gentlemen of the press. Above a hundred tickets were issued, of which I estimate fifty to have been used, until towards the close, when the numbers increased.

the institutions of society and of government, and to elevate the condition of the human race.

“Resolved,—That, in Mr. Combe, we recognise the most successful advocate of phrenological science, the philosopher and the philanthropist, and that Phrenology, as explained and illustrated by him, claims, in our opinion, the attention of all those who would investigate mind philosophically, and who desire the diffusion of truth and the exaltation of the moral and intellectual faculties of man.

“Resolved,—That, in the application of Phrenology to the investigation of human character, and the practical purposes of life, we perceive a new era in mental and physiological science, in which we believe human inquiry will be greatly facilitated, and the amount of human happiness essentially increased.

“Resolved,—That inasmuch as prejudice may deter many individuals from attending Mr. Combe’s lectures in other cities of our country, which he proposes to visit, and as the truth and importance of Phrenology can be understood and appreciated only after an examination of its principles, we recommend to such citizens an attendance upon his *entire course*, being convinced that they will find their own advantage in doing so, and that they will thereby become better able to judge of the truth and practical utility of the science.

“Resolved,—That, entertaining these views and feelings, we take great pleasure in tendering an expression of them to Mr. Combe, and in adding our most hearty wishes for his personal happiness, and for his long-continued usefulness to his fellow-men.

“Resolved,—That Silas Jones, Esq., counsellor at law and superintendent of the New York Institution for the Blind; Judah Hammond, Esq., judge of the marine court; John B. Scott, Esq., judge of the marine court; Loring D. Chapin, Esq., member of the New York legislature, &c.; Robert Sedgwick, Esq., counsellor at law, &c.; A. Lee, M.D., Professor of Materia Medica in the New York University; B. F. Joslin, M.D., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the New York University; E. Parmley, M.D.; J. Neilson, M.D.; J. W. Francis, M.D.; A. S. Doane, Professor of Physiology in the New York University; Caleb Ticknor, Professor of Hygiene in the New York University; and Joel Foster, M.D., be a committee to present to Mr. Combe the foregoing resolutions, and that the same be published in the newspapers of this city.

“JOHN B. SCOTT, Chairman.

“*New York, Dec. 24, 1838.*”

In the resolutions of the class at Boston, and also in those now presented, no opinion is expressed regarding the truth of Phrenology. It is proper to explain that in my introductory lecture I mentioned to the audiences the history of my own conversion, and stated, that after listening to a full course of lectures by Dr. Spurzheim, and reading his “*New Physiognomical System*,” it required three years of observation of nature to produce a full conviction of the truth of the organology in my own mind; that in my present lectures I did not profess to convince them of Phrenology, but merely to teach them how to ascertain its truth by means of observation; and that, in my opinion, a “*great believer*,” without philosophical conviction, did no credit to Phrenology, or to his own understanding.



## No. V.

ACCOUNTS G. WASHINGTON WITH THE UNITED STATES, COMMENCING JUNE, 1775, AND ENDING JUNE, 1785, COMPREHENDING A SPACE OF 8 YEARS.

| Dr.  | The UNITED STATES in Acct with G. WASHINGTON. |                                 |                | Cr.                           |
|--|---|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
|  | Pensa.  | Lawful.<br>l. e. dollars at 6s. | 1775.<br>July. |                               |
| 1775. To the purchase of five horses (two of which were had on credit from Mr. James Mease), to equip me for my journey to the army at Cambridge, and for the service I was then going upon,—having sent my chariot and horses back to Virginia, £239) 0 0 |   |                                 |                |                               |
| No. 1. To a light phaeton bot. of Doctr. Renaudet, 55 0 0  |   |                                 |                |                               |
| " 2. To double harness for Do. bought from Mr. Todd, 7 15 0  |   |                                 |                |                               |
| " 3. To cash paid for saddlery, a letter case, maps, glasses, &c. &c. &c. for the use of my command, 29 13 6   |   |                                 |                |                               |
| " 4. To Mr. Benjn. Hemmings for keeping the above horses, 5 6 2  |   |                                 |                |                               |
| No. 6. To the acct. of Thomas Mifflin, Esq. for money expended by him in the journey from Philadelphia to Cambridge, in which the expenses of General Lee, Col. Reed, &c., were included, 129 8 2  |   |                                 |                |                               |
| " 7. To sundry sums paid by myself in the aforesaid journey, amountg. to . . . 34 8 3  |   |                                 |                |                               |
| No. 8. 5. To N. Sparhawk's acct. . . . 2 8 0   |   |                                 |                |                               |
| " 9. To Samuel Griffin, Esq. 1 15 4  |   |                                 |                |                               |
| " 10. To the expenses of myself and party reconnoitg. the sea-coast east of Boston Harbour, . . . 18 13 2  |   |                                 |                |                               |
| " 11, 15. To 333 l. 3 s. dollars given to ———*, to induce . . . Amt. carrd. forwrd. £467 18 2  |   |                                 |                |                               |
|  |   |                                 |                | Amt. carrd. forward. £203 0 0 |

\* The names of persons who are employed within the enemy's lines, or who may fall in their power, cannot be inserted.

| Dr.  | The UNITED STATES in Acct. with G. WASHINGTON. |          | Cr.   |
|--|--|----------|---|
|  | Pensa.   | Lawful.  |   |
| 1775. July.  | £467 18 2                                      | £55 9 5  | 1775. July. By amount brot. forward, £203 0 0 |
| To amount brot. forward, him to go into the town of Boston, to establish a secret correspondence for the purpose of conveying intelligence of the enemy's movements and designs, | .  | 100 0 0  |   |
| No. 12. To cash paid for cleaning the house which was provided for my quarters, and wch. had been occupied by the Marblehead Regiment.   | .  | 2 10 9   |   |
| " 13. 19. To ditto to Mr. Ebenr. Austin, the steward, for household expenses,*   | .  | 10 0 0   |   |
| " 14. 24. To ditto paid a French cook,   | .  | 2 5 0    |   |
| " 15. To ditto paid Mr. Austin for household expenses,   | .  | 2 0 0    |   |
|  | £467 18 2                                      | £172 5 2 | By Amt. carrd. forwd. £203 0 0                |

\* This and every other sum which will be found charged in these accts. to Mr. Austin, are credited in his Book of Household Expenditures, herewith given in as a voucher.

## No. VI.—Referred to on p. 227.

TABLE OF THE MENTAL DISORDERS IN THE EASTERN PENITENTIARY DURING 1839.—WHITE PRISONERS.

| Prisoners. | Age. | Country.      | Health on admission.                    | Diseases.             | Causes.  | Effects of Treatment. | Duration of Attack. | After Imprisonment. | Present State of each Prisoner, January 1, 1840.                  |
|------------|------|---------------|---|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---|
| No.        |      |               |   |                       |          |                       | Y. M. D.            | Y. M. D.            |   |
| 947        | 46   | Pennsylvania, | Asthma and Pleuritic Pain,              | Hypochondria,         | Unknown, | Cured.                | 4                   | 5 9                 | Discharged from E. P. Sept. 17, 1839, in sound mind and health.   |
| 867        | 30   | New York,     | Dysentery and Gleet,                    | Do.                   | Do.      | Relieved,             | 22                  | 1 0 21              | Do. April 13. do.   |
| 784        | 21   | England,      | Good mind and health.                   | Do.                   | Mst.     | Cured,                | 10                  | 1 7 5               | Do. July 3. do.   |
| 926        | 39   | Germany,      | Plethora and pain of chest and abdomen, | Do.                   | Unknown, | Relieved,             | 24                  | 1 1 16              | Do. May 3, in sound mind, imperfect health.                       |
| 988        | 40   | Ireland,      | Hallucinations, from mania a potu,      | Hallucinations,       | Intemp.  | Continues             |                     | 1                   | A worthless prisoner, subject to violent fits of anger.           |
| 973        | 26   | Pennsylvania, | Imperfect health, and mind disturbed,   | Do.                   | Unknown, | Cured,                | 18                  | 10 24               | Discharged from E. P., Sept. 8, 1839, in sound mind and health.   |
| 1128       | 55   | Delaware,     | Good, but hard drinker and distressed,  | Do.                   | Intemp.  | Relieved,             | 16                  | 7 19                | At work at knitting, and continues distressed.                    |
| 1069       | 40   | Pennsylvania, | Monomania,                              | Monomania,            | Do.      | Pardoned,             |                     | 1                   | Pardoned and sent to the Alms-house.                              |
| 1039       | 26   | Germany,      | Eccentricity of mind,                   | Eccentricity of mind, | Do.      | Relieved,             | 16                  | 1 16                | In 3d block of cells, picking wool, and in sound mind and health. |
| 1055       | 21   |               | Scrofula,                               | Dementia, acute,      | Mst.     | Cured,                | 11                  | 1 3 0               | In 7th block, at weaving, and in sound mind and health.           |
| 1052       | 29   |               | Good health,                            | Do.                   | Do.      | Do.                   | 5                   | 1 2 0               | In 4th block, at shoemaking, and in sound mind and health.        |
| 673        | 59   | Pennsylvania, | Imperfect, and mind troubled,           | Do.                   | Unknown, | Do.                   | 11                  | 7 12                | In 3d block, at making hickory brooms, in sound mind and health.  |
| 842        | 27   | Holland,      | Good health, disturbed mind,            | Mania,                | Do.      | Pardoned, July, 1839. | 1 0 23              | 7 12                | Sent to the Alms-house.   |

## COLORED PRISONERS.

| Prisoners. | Age. | Country.                    | Health on admission.                  | Diseases.       | Causes.  | Effects of Treatment. | Duration of attack. | After Imprisonment. | Present state of each Prisoner, January 1, 1840.   |
|------------|------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--|
| No. 492    | 28   | Pennsylvania.               | Good, mind discontented.              | Hypochondria,   | Mst.     | Relieved,             | Y. M. D. 7          | Y. M. D. 3 3 10     | In 4th block (Infirmary) good health, self-willed and malicious.   |
| 531        | 21   | Maryland,                   | Good.                                 | Do.             | Do.      | Cured,                | 1 9                 | 3 3 22              | In 5th block, at shoemaking, in sound mind and health.   |
| 1107       | 19   | Delaware,                   | Do.                                   | Hallucination,  | Do.      | Do.                   | 13                  | 25                  | In Infirmary, and wishes to go to work.  |
| 924        | 19   | Maryland,                   | Gonorrhœa, wilful,                    | Do.             | Do.      | Do.                   | 7                   | 6 10                | "do. has been at spooling, but is too worthless to be continued at work.                                   |
| 1096       | 18   | Pennsylvania,               | Good,                                 | Do.             | Do.      | Relieved,             | 17                  | 6 17                | Is again in Infirmary for hallucination.   |
| 746        | 23   | Do.                         | Subject to vertigo,                   | Do.             | Do.      | Cured,                | 9                   | 1 4 2               | In 4th block, weaving, in sound mind and health.   |
| 845        | 21   | N. Carolina.                | Good,                                 | Dementia, acute | Do.      | Do.                   | 2 20                | 1 4 3               | Discharged from E. P., Aug. 30, 1839, in sound mind and health.  |
| 588        | 29   | New Jersey,                 | Typhus Pneumonia, from Arch St. Pris. | Do.             | Do.      | Do.                   | 2                   | 2 8 28              | Discharged April 19, 1839, in sound mind and improved health.  |
| 1021       | 26   | Virgin. a run. slave, murd. | Rheumatic, destructive disposition,   | Deviltry,       | Unknown, | Continues             |                     | 1 17                | Continues to be very destructive, otherwise reasonable.  |
| 369        | 29   | Pennsylvania,               | Good.                                 | Dementia,       | Mst.     | Do.                   |                     | 2 10 5              | In good health, and mind much restored, and disposed to be at work in his own way, very pleasant and mild. |
| 921        | 23   | Delaware,                   | Syphilis,                             | Do.             | Do.      | Cured.                | 1 9                 | 9 6                 | He died Aug. 24, 1839, of chronic pleurisy and scrofula.   |
| 632        | 26   | Pennsylvania,               | Health good, revengeful,              | Do.             | Do.      | Do.                   | 1 6                 | 2 6 14              | Discharged E. P., Aug. 19, 1832, sent to Moyamensing Prison.   |
| 948        | 18   | Pittadelphia,               | Good,                                 | Do.             | Do.      | Do.                   | 27                  | 8 22                | In 3d block, picking wool, in sound mind and health.   |

“The preceding tables show that the cases of disordered mind have occurred in early manhood with few exceptions, that four of them happened after more than two or three years’ imprisonment, but the rest within an average confinement of about seven or eight months; that they have generally yielded to a short medical treatment; that about sixty-one per centage of them have been caused by self-abuse, and that there has been three per cent. more of the cases among the colored than the white prisoners. Its physical cause is here indicated. The cephalic disorders here presented is not that insanity of mind which solitude, confinement, and oppression may produce on a cultivated intellect, and high tone and spirit. The cell of the prisoner is lighted and ventilated, its stone walls and iron door is the end of the law to him, and all the rest is only kindness; the visits of the keepers, superintendents, warden, and inspectors, destroy the ennui of solitude, and make it only a separation from idleness and vice. He is employed in profitable work. When he is sick prompt medical aid is afforded, and nursing. Six days he labors, and on the Sabbath he rests, reads his Bible, and listens to the voice of his moral instructor, who has often visited him. There cannot be much in such solitude and confinement to induce insanity. The form of disordered mind here found is of a physical character—a brain complaint—a congestion of the cerebellum most generally. The refuse of the colored population who, owing to our proximity to the slave states, constitute a disproportionate number of the prisoners, are here deprived of sensual indulgence, except self-abuse, and in this, therefore, they are excessive, as are also the less intelligent white prisoners; consequently the organs of digestion become weakened, and confinement then with full animal diet, are unitedly not harmless, cephalic pains follow, disturbing dreams, depressed spirits, he continues the injurious practice, and hallucinations, violence, and incoherence follow, and if the prisoner be not properly treated, the case becomes one of chronic and incurable dementia. Separate the colored prisoners from this institution, and the instances of disordered mind will become comparatively few.”—*Extract from the report of Dr. Darrach, Physician to the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania for the year 1839.*

## No. VII.—Referred to on p. 250.

TABLE OF ATTENDANCE AT THE FIRST COURSE OF LECTURES ON PHRENOLOGY  
IN PHILADELPHIA.

| Date.                        | Weather. | Subjects.  | No. of Subscribers present. | Visitors present. | Complimentary Tickets. * |
|------------------------------|----------|--|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1839.<br>Jan. 4.             | Clear.   | { The Brain a congeries of organs manifesting different mental faculties. }                  | 195                         | 213               | 30                       |
| " 7.                         | Do.      | { Size, <i>cæteris paribus</i> , a measure of Power, Temperaments, &c. }                     | 303                         | 133               | 38                       |
| " 10.                        | Do.      | { Structure of Brain and Skull, Amativeness. }   | 386                         | 96                | 31                       |
| " 11.                        | Do.      | { Philopro. Concentrat. Comb. }  | 395                         | 77                | 33                       |
| " 13.                        | Rain.    | { Destruc. Aliment. Love of Life, Secretiv. Acquisit. }                                      | 396                         | 64                | 38                       |
| " 17.                        | Clear.   | { Construct. Self-Esteem. Love of Approb. Cautiousness. }                                    | 398                         | 69                | 34                       |
| " 18.                        | Do.      | { Benev. Vener. Firmness. Conscientiousness. }   | 355                         | 58                | 28                       |
| " 21.                        | Do.      | { Hope, Wonder, Ideality, Wit, Imitation. }  | 427                         | 82                | 32                       |
| " 24.                        | Do.      | { Individ. Form, Size, Weight, Coloring. }   | 428                         | 62                | 38                       |
| " 25.                        | Do.      | { Locality, Number, Order, Eventuality, Time, Tune. }  | 410                         | 83                | 41                       |
| " 28.                        | Do.      | { Language, Comparison, Causality, Materialism. }  | 417                         | 129               | 47                       |
| " 31.                        | Do.      | { Modes of activity of the faculties. }  | 348                         | 139               | 44                       |
| Feb. 1.                      | Snow.    | { Varieties of dispositions and talents. Moral Responsibility. }                             | 316                         | 136               | 36                       |
| " 4.                         | Fair.    | { Physical Education. }  | 317                         | 224               | 35                       |
| " 7.                         | Clear.   | { Mental Education. }  | 330                         | 217               | 61                       |
| " 8.                         | Rain.    | { Application of Phrenology to the present and prospective condition of the United States. } | 294                         | 222               | 54                       |
| Which numbers divided by 16) |          |  | 5715                        | 2004              | 620                      |
| gives an average attendance  |          |  |                             |                   |                          |
| of subscribers . . .         |          |  | 356                         |                   |                          |
| of visitors, . . .           |          |  | 125                         |                   |                          |
| of invited hearers, . . .    |          |  | 39                          |                   |                          |
| Total average,               |          |  | 520                         |                   |                          |

\* The Committee of Management were requested by me to present tickets to all the gentlemen of the press and their ladies, and to as many persons besides as were likely to be benefitted by the lectures, but who were unable to pay for admission.

## REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING TABLE.

The diminution in the numbers, under the head of subscribers, may appear to indicate a falling off in their attendance; but such was not the fact. Each subscriber received sixteen transferable tickets, being one for each of the sixteen lectures of which the course consisted. Many of the subscribers gave away portions of their tickets to friends to induce them to attend; others, conceiving that they should be tired long before the end of the course, gave away portions also. They, however, were interested, and attended to the close by purchasing tickets as visitors, the numbers of whom increased as those of subscribers diminished.

In this course of lectures, as in all the others, I impressed on my audience the necessity of studying Phrenology by observation before they could judge of its truth, and deprecated the idea that I wished to render them believers without grounds for philosophical conviction, which could be obtained from observation alone.

At the close of the last lecture, the following resolutions were adopted by the class, and subsequently presented by Nicholas Biddle, Esq., in the name of the committee. The newspapers, in reporting the resolutions, added to the names certain notes in explanation of who the committee were, for the information of their distant readers. These I retain.

“Resolved, That they have listened with great pleasure and mental profit to the comprehensive views of human nature, and to the elucidations of individual character set forth by Mr. Combe in his lectures just completed. And that in these they recognise many important suggestions for the improvement of education and jurisprudence, and the consequent increase of the happiness of mankind.

“Resolved, That a committee be appointed to carry to Mr. Combe the preceding resolution, and a wish, on the part of this meeting, that he will be induced to repeat his course of lectures on Phrenology in this city.

“The following gentlemen were appointed a committee to carry into effect the foregoing resolution, viz:—

“1. Nicholas Biddle, LL.D., President of the Board of Trustees of the Girard College, one of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, member of the American Philosophical Society, &c. &c.

“2. Joseph Hartshorne, M.D., member of the American Philosophical Society—(one of our oldest and most experienced and trusted physicians and surgeons—a practical man.)

“3. Benjamin W. Richards, a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, formerly mayor of this city, and long one of the managers, if he is not now, of the eastern penitentiary, and of the almshouse.

“4. William Gibson, M.D., professor of surgery in the University of Pennsylvania (medical class this winter is 401,) surgeon to the Blockley hospital (almshouse infirmary,) member of the Philosophical Society.

“5. Thomas Harris, M.D., President of the Philadelphia Medical Society, lecturer on the institutes and practice of surgery, member of the American Philosophical Society (a gentleman in extensive practice as surgeon and physician, author of a *Life of Commodore Bainbridge*.)

“6. Alexander Dallas Bache, President of the Girard College, formerly professor of chemistry in the faculty of arts of the University of Pennsylvania; after graduating at West Point (U. S. Military Academy), he taught mathematics as a professor in that institution—member of the American Philosophical Society.

“7. Rembrandt Peale, a painter of celebrity, author of ‘*Notes on Italy*,’ &c.

“8. Charles Picot, for several years the head of a seminary for young

ladies, and who, by his success as a teacher, has acquired celebrity through the United States.

“9. John Bell, M.D., member of the American Philosophical Society, lecturer on the institutes of medicine and medical jurisprudence, professor of anatomy applied to the fine arts, editor of the Select Medical Library and Eclectic Journal of Medicine, one of the editors of the Journal of Health (the initial article, with two or three exceptions, of each number of the Journal of Health is by Dr. B.); author of a work on Baths and Mineral Waters, and on Health and Beauty, &c.

“That the friends of the phrenological philosophy elsewhere may know how Mr. Combe has been greeted by the literary and scientific men of Philadelphia, we have added to the names of the committee given above, such information as shows their standing.”

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No. VIII.—Referred to on p. 296-

LETTER FROM JAMES P. ESPY, ESQ. IN EXPLANATION OF HIS PROPOSAL TO PRODUCE RAIN ARTIFICIALLY IN TIME OF DROUGHT.

[From the National Gazette.]

Messrs. Editors:—Knowing the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of making the subject intelligible in a short newspaper article, it is with reluctance that I am now induced, after much earnest solicitation from my friends both near and remote, to give a very brief summary of the reasons and FACTS which have led me to desire that an experiment should be made to see whether *rain may be produced artificially in time of drought.*

The documents which I have collected on this subject, if they do not prove that the experiment will succeed, do at least prove that it ought to be tried; this, I trust, will most satisfactorily appear when they shall be published entire. In the mean time it has become necessary to present to the public something on the subject, lest longer silence might be construed into an abandonment of the project.

1. It is known by experiment that if air should be expanded into double the volume by diminished pressure, it would be cooled about 90° of Fahrenheit.

2. I have shown by experiment that if air at the common dew point in the summer season in time of drought, 71°, should go up in a column to a height sufficient to expand it by diminished pressure into double the volume, it would condense into water or visible cloud, by the cold of expansion, more than one-half of its vapor—a quantity sufficient to produce nearly three inches of rain.

3. It is known by chemical principles, that the caloric of elasticity given out during the condensation of this vapor, would be equal to about 30,000 tons of anthracite coal burned on each square mile over which the cloud extended.

4. I have shown by experiment (see Saturday Courier, March 18, 1837,) that this caloric of elasticity would prevent the air from cooling only about half as much as it would if it had no vapor in it, or about 45° at the height assumed, which would cause the air in the cloud to be, at that height, about 45° warmer than the air on the outside of the cloud at the same



height. I have shown from these principles (see Journal of the Franklin Institute for 1836) that the barometer would fall under the cloud thus formed, in favorable circumstances, a quantity as great as it is known to fall sometimes under the middle of a dense and lofty cloud, and that consequently the air would rush in on all sides towards the centre of the cloud and upwards in the middle, and thus continue the condensation of the vapor, and the formation of cloud, and the generation of rain. (See also Journal of the Franklin Institute for September and October 1838, and for January, February, and March, and subsequent 1839.)

5. I have shown also in the volumes quoted above, that the air does move inwards on all sides towards the centre of the space or region where a great rain is falling, and of course upwards, after it comes in under the cloud, which is so much lighter than the surrounding air; at least that it does so in all storms which have been investigated, which now amount to sixteen, besides several tornadoes, in all of which the trees were thrown with their tops inwards.

From the principles here established by experiment, and afterwards confirmed by observation, it follows, that if a large body of air is made to ascend in a column, a large cloud will be generated, and that that cloud will contain in itself a self-sustaining power, which may move from the place over which it was formed, and cause the air over which it passes to rise up into it, and thus form more cloud and rain, until the rain may become general; for many storms which commence in the West Indies very narrow, are known to move from the place of beginning several thousand miles, widening out and increasing in size, until they become many hundred miles wide. (See Redfield and Reid, and the Reports of Joint Committee.)

If these principles are just, it will follow, when the air is in a favorable state, that the bursting out of a volcano ought to produce rain; and such is known to be the fact; and I have abundant documents in my possession to prove it.

So, under very favorable circumstances, the bursting out of great fires ought to produce rain; and I have many facts in my possession rendering it highly probable, if not certain, that great rains have sometimes been produced by great fires.

It is a general opinion in parts of the country where great fires frequently take place, that those fires produce rain. Now this opinion could hardly have originated without some circumstances besides mere coincidence attending them, such as related in the following account. Mr. Dobrezhoffer, a missionary to Paraguay, speaking of the tall grass and bulrushes on fire, says—"I myself have seen clouds and lightning produced from the smoke as it is flying off *like a whirlwind*; so that the Indians are not to blame for setting fire to the plains in order to produce rain, they having learned, that the thicker smoke turns into clouds which pour forth water."—Account of the Abiphones, vol. iii, p. 150.

Mr. Lapice, of Louisiana, informed Dr. S. Calhoun of this city, "that the conflagration of the long grass in the prairies of that state covers every thing with its cinders for miles around, and that rain follows it shortly, according to immemorial observation in that country."

"Very extensive fires in Nova Scotia, in the woods, are so generally followed by heavy floods of rain, that there is some reason to believe, that the enormous pillars of smoke have some share in producing them."—(Mag. Nat. Hist. for Dec. 1835.)

The bad philosophy of supposing that smoke was turned into cloud and produced rain, does not weaken the evidence of the main fact.

If the principle is correct, that clouds are formed by up-moving columns of air, we should expect to find, in favorable states of the air, that clouds would form over large cities and manufacturing towns where much fuel is burnt, and so we find it to be.

Extract of a letter to me from Benj. Matthias of Philadelphia:—"In the course of last winter, while in England, I visited Manchester four or five times, and on each day it rained. Several of the inhabitants assured me, that it rains in Manchester more or less every day in the year."

Extract from Ed. Mammatt's Collection of Facts, concerning Ashby Coal Field. 4to. London, 1836.

"When the air is apparently stagnant in the valley of the Thames and surrounding country, a strong current is found to set in, on every side of London, along the streets leading from the country, in the morning. This current is no doubt occasioned by the rarefaction in the high chimneys, over so many thousand fires just kindled, and must be the cause of the introduction of fresh air to an immense extent, which would not otherwise flow. This rarefaction produces other phenomena, among which, when the atmosphere is in a light state, and clouds are passing at a height which does not allow them to condense and fall in rain, these accumulate in passing over London, and either remain as a dense fog, or drop in small rain all day long, scarcely clearing once, the country at a little distance having very little rain."

The bad philosophy of supposing the air so light on these occasions as to let the clouds on passing sink down in it over London, does not invalidate the evidence of the principal fact.

From these remarkable facts alone, I think it will be acknowledged that there is some connection between great fires and rains other than mere coincidence, even if that connection remained a mystery. Humboldt acknowledged this in the case of volcanoes, when he speaks of the *mysterious* connection between volcanoes and rain, and says, that when a volcano bursts out in South America, in a dry season, it sometimes changes it to a rainy one. But now, when it is demonstrated by the most decisive evidence, the evidence of experiment, that air in ascending into the atmosphere in a column, as it must do over a great fire, will cool by diminished pressure, so much that it will begin to condense its vapor into cloud, as soon as it shall rise about as many hundred yards as the temperature of the air is above the dew-point in degrees of Fahrenheit, it amounts to a very *high* probability, that great fires have *sometimes* produced rain. That great fires and even volcanoes should not *always* produce rain, is manifest from the circumstance, that as they break out accidentally, they may sometimes occur when the state of the atmosphere is unfavorable, and even adverse to rain. First, if they should break out when there is a current of air, either near the surface of the earth, or at a considerable distance above, of some strength, the up-moving column would be swept by it out of the perpendicular, before a cloud of great density could be formed, and thus rain would be prevented.

Second, They might break out when the dew-point was too low to produce rain at all; and third, there may sometimes be an upper stratum of air, containing so much caloric that its specific levity would prevent the up-moving column from rising into it far enough to cause rain.

These three things I conceive are the only circumstances which prevent great fires from producing rain at all times when they occur. The first two can be ascertained without much difficulty by means of small balloons, and the dew-point—the last in the present state of science cannot always

be known, and a failure on that account must be risked by the experimenter. This risk I am willing to run if congress or the state legislature will promise a sufficient reward *in case of success*.

It has been objected to my project, that I propose too much, and that it is utterly absurd to expect to make rain in time of drought, when there is such a scarcity of vapor in the air.

Now this objection is founded on an entire ignorance of the fact, arising from a want of due consideration. For there is *generally* more vapor in the time of summer drought than at any other time, as I know by experiments constantly made almost every day for these last ten years; and this is reasonable in itself, for the vapor is rising into the air and increasing every day of dry weather, preparing for another rain. A quiet state of the atmosphere is also more likely to occur, to great heights, in time of droughts than at any other time, for immediately after rains there are sure to be cross currents of air, produced by the inward motion of the air at the lower part of the cloud and an outward motion in the upper part, which require some time after the rain to come to rest.

If I have succeeded in showing that there is any the least ground to hope that an attempt to produce rain might sometimes succeed under favorable circumstances, and that those favorable circumstances are more likely to occur in time of drought than at any other time, then it follows that the experiment is a highly interesting one, and ought to be immediately tried. If it should be successful, who can tell the mighty results which may follow in its train?

I have many reasons and facts which induce me to believe that if a very large cloud is once generated, the rain will become general, or at least spread over a wide extent of territory, and who can tell, *a priori*, that this will not be the case, when it is now known that an immense steam power is let loose in the formation of such a cloud—a power which can be calculated with as much accuracy as that of the steam-engine itself, and in part on the same principles?

Gentlemen have made their puns on this project, and had their laugh, and I am sorry to see by letters which I have received, that my friends and relations at a distance are much troubled at these innocent laughs; but let them be consoled: I have laughed too, well knowing that those who laughed the most heartily would be the most willing to encourage the experiment, as soon as they discovered they had nothing to laugh at. As a proof that I was right in this anticipation, I may be permitted to say that I have lately received a letter from a highly distinguished member of the American legislature, who laughed as heartily as *any* one when my petition was presented there, containing many kind expressions, and promising me, by way of amends for his levity, “to avail himself of the earliest opportunity of being better informed on the subject of my new philosophy.” Such conduct as this is all I want; I fear not the strictest scrutiny.

If I should be encouraged to go on with the experiment, I mean to have a large mass of combustibles prepared ready for use, and when I have found all the circumstances mentioned before favorable in a time of drought, I would set fire to the circumference in various places at once. Soon after the fire commences, I will expect to see clouds begin to form about as many hundred yards high as the temperature of the air is above the dew-point in degrees of Fahrenheit. I will expect to see this cloud rapidly increase in size, if its top is not swept off by a current of air at a considerable distance above the earth, until it becomes so lofty as to rain. I shall expect the cloud to move eastwardly, increasing in width as it advances,

and the next day I shall expect the region to the south of where the rain fell to be visited by rain, for a reason explained in my writings.

But it is in vain to anticipate all the results which will follow, for nothing but the experiment itself can demonstrate them. If the experiments, when repeatedly tried, should fail, it would be in vain for me to say I would not be mortified, but I will not incur any disgrace—unless it is disgraceful to desire to see a great experiment made which all the knowledge we have on the subject, in the present state of science, leads us to hope will be crowned with success.

I have made this very brief, though necessarily imperfect, statement of my reasons for wishing to see the experiment tried, which can alone decide the question, to comply with the earnest and repeated solicitations of my friends. I will now, in conclusion, say a word for myself.

The present state of the science of Meteorology renders it highly important to know in what direction, and with what velocity, summer rains travel over the surface of the earth. What is their shape—round or oblong—and if oblong, in what direction their transverse diameter lies, and whether they move side foremost, or end foremost, or obliquely? Now, I request gentlemen throughout the United States, who feel interested in this subject, to keep a journal of all rains from the beginning of June till the end of September; noting their beginnings and endings, the force and direction of the winds, and also of the clouds, and send the accounts (published in some paper) as early in October as convenient, to William Hamilton, Esq., Actuary of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.

Finally, if any gentleman intends to clear from twenty to fifty acres of woodland this spring or early in the summer, in the western or north-western part of Pennsylvania, will he please to inform me of the fact as soon as convenient.

Journals of the weather also for the 16th, 17th, and 18th of March 1838, kept in various parts of Virginia and North Carolina, are much desired; and if gentlemen can even tell me how the trees are thrown down, indicating the direction of the wind, the information will be highly valuable, and should not be withheld if nothing else is known or recollected.

I am, Gentlemen, yours respectfully,

JAMES P. ESPY.

*Philadelphia, April 2, 1839.*







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